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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE INDIAN ARMY AND THE FUTURE

BY EDWIN HAWARD

THE Indian Army dates back really to 1683 when 200 Rajputs, under their own officers, were recruited by the East India Company's Administration in Bombay as part of its protective forces. The Goanese, however, argue that they should come into the picture, because among the Company's troops which those Rajputs joined, were some soldiers called Topasses, who, to the number of 54, had been recruited from the Goanese in 1662. For about 100 years these Topasses were part of the army in India. To-day their name is kept green in the liners which travel eastward. Their military duties have been forgotten, but their usefulness as bath attendants is widely recognized. The word topaz is derived from top cannon, and recalls the use of coarse black powder in the artillery of the time. After discharge the smouldering powder remained in the gun-barrel, which had to be washed out before a new charge could be introduced. So a washer was essential, and he was called a topaz. His occupation today as a washer-out of ships' baths is not inappropriate. Topasses recruited by the East India Company were originally members of the old Moghul armies.

Those, of course, were very tentative efforts at organizing military forces with the limited objective of protecting the East India Company's depots. When the Company took upon itself larger obligations, higher military standards had to be applied. Starting with Clive's organization at the time of the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the Indian Army, at the end of the eighteenth century, had become a truly important factor of the army in India.

In 1858, when the high responsibilities of the East India Company were transferred to the Crown and the Company's European troops were absorbed by the British Army, the foundations of the Indian Army as we know it to-day may be said to have been effectively laid. It was not until 1895 that the three Presidency Armies were abolished and the term "Indian Army" came to have a true significance. Even then it was not officially applied before 1903, when the Indian Staff Corps was abolished, and British officers, as well as the rank and file of Indian units, were forced into one corps entitled the Indian Army.

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MODERNIZATION

By that time modernization as understood in those days had its way. A reserve was already in existence, but still 36 out of 39 of the Indian Cavalry regiments remained at the outbreak of war in 1914 on a silladar basis. That is to say, the troopers, like the yeomanry of olden days in England, paid at a higher rate than non-silladar troopers, had to supply and maintain their horses, clothing, equipment and arms (with the exception of the rifle). The pressure of the Great War effectively hastened the abolition of this system. It officially disappeared in 1922.

Kitchener's organization of 1904 had put the army in India on a workmanlike basis, primarily with an eye to defence of the Frontier. It was only dimly foreseen that in a few years' time Indian troops would be serving in Europe, in Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, East Africa, Cyrenaica and Gallipoli. That was hidden from us then, but, as always, the Indian Army had to be prepared for active service.

Now not only has the Royal Air Force long helped to strengthen India's defences, but an Indian Air Force has taken shape, and has no difficulty in securing recruits. In those days the Royal Flying Corps had not even begun to function. In 1912, on a holiday in Mussoorie, a young captain of the Gurkhas joined our party, one afternoon, in a picnic tea on a spur overlooking the Dun Valley.

He had just been selected as one of the first of a batch of Indian Army officers to be trained at the new Army Flying School projected at Sitapur. He tried to impress us with the enormous possibilities of flying, but some of us reluctantly accepted his view that in time aeroplanes would be able to fly passengers up to the hills!

That officer's name was Cyril Newall. We could not be expected to foresee that he would emerge with distinction from the World War of 1914-18, as a veteran officer of the R.A.F., and would be the chief of the Royal Air Force for the first year of the present war.

The essential feature of the Indian Army, as it developed in the nineteenth century and the early days of the twentieth century, was its professional character. The primary duty of watching the Frontier of India implied a readiness for active service at the shortest possible notice. Indeed, part of the Indian Army has always to be prepared for war, for seldom is that unquiet, mountainous strip of border territory entirely at peace.

The value of Indian experience to the fighting soldier is well recognized by the British Army. It inspired Lord Kitchener in 1914, at the time of the Empire's great need for troops fit to stand in France beside the famous "Contemptibles". Hence his call to India for the Indian divisions which took with them the highly seasoned regular British regiments to hold the line, their replacement in India by Territorials being swiftly effected.

There is no wonder that the Indian Army treasures traditions, for its record is rich with them. For instance, the Viceroy's Bodyguard carries battle honours, a fact which may surprise many people. It is now composed of Punjabi Mussulmans and Sikhs. When it was first raised in Benares in 1773, it was known as the Governor's Troop of Moghuls. Its battle honours are seven, namely Java, Ava, Maharajpore, Moodkee,

Ferozeshah, Aliwal and Sobraon. The last four names recall the almost accidental participation of the Bodyguard in the Sikh wars. The story goes that Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of the day, exercised his authority to vary the dispositions of the commander of the forces in the field, a situation which could hardly occur today!

Recruitment to the Indian Army is voluntary. Recruits are drawn almost entirely from the yeoman and agricultural classes, but the recent expansion in such technical services as the Ordinance and Army Service Corps broadened the basis of recruitment, and thus enabled the townsman to serve. Success in recruitment derives greatly from family traditions, which ordain that son, grandson or great-grandson goes to the regiment of his forbear. By this means, villages throughout India are kept in touch with the Army. A sentimental bond practically strengthened by economic considerations is forged.

INDIAN COMMISSIONED OFFICERS

The British or King's commissioned officer takes a close interest in the family of his Viceroy's commissioned officer or other ranks. Officers' wives make it a point to know the domestic side of the soldier's life. A regiment is therefore well buttressed by that family feeling which plays so vital a part in all Indian affairs.

In the last year of the World War of 1914-18 the gallantry of the Indian Army led to the decision to make Indians eligible for cadetships at Sandhurst. King's commissioned Indian officers began to take their places in the regiments. The subsequent need for giving greater facilities for such appointments than Sandhurst could afford led to the opening of the Indian Sandhurst at Dehra Dun in 1932. In the award of the first Indian Victoria Cross of the present war to an Indian officer from Dehra Dun, that young college has found a brilliant justification and encouragement.

Further to cement the bonds between the soldier and the country he serves, Soldiers' Boards, on which retired service men sit, look after the interests of the soldier's family. These boards keep in close touch with General Headquarters, and thus the Government's desire to ensure that service in the army is profitable, as well as honourable, is assisted to fulfilment. Grants of land, scholarships for soldiers' children, appointments in civil life, all help to supplement the pension.

Care for the soldier's well-being enhances the military strength of the Indian Army. Trained in every modern weapon, and constantly engaged in fighting in difficult country, the officers and men of the Indian Army have been welded into a formidable fighting machine, adaptable, disciplined and steadfast. The exacting demands of campaigns amid the rugged hills of Waziristan with the deep ravines, the gaunt rock ledges, the grilling heat of summer and the bitter cold of winter when the hillsides are covered with snow, guarantee that troops so seasoned are ready to take in their stride any terrain—whether it be in the bleak passes of Abyssinia or Eritrea or the trackless sands of Libya.

Of these Indian fighters let it finally be said that more than two centuries of comradeship with British officers and British regiments have engendered a mutual confidence and esteem which both British and

Indians hallow It gives understanding of the greatest value in the field, as in peacetime cantonments

In this spirit, too, the Gurkhas, who come from the independent kingdom of Nepal to add to the Indian Army their martial battalions, fight and work side by side with British and Indians alike

This brotherhood gives India and the Empire a fine inspiration It stands out in sharp contrast to the soulless mass-mechanization which tries to masquerade under Nazi rule as a "New Order" It is an association of free men willingly accepting a common discipline to effect the common purpose of defending human liberty

IN THE PRESENT WAR

Until 1939 the defence of India was based on the principle that India protected her own frontiers, and Great Britain took full responsibility for defending her against attacks by any great Power Lord Chatfield's Committee in that year recommended the immediate variance of that view owing to the changes in the technique of modern warfare, especially the increase of mobility produced by the mechanized unit and the bombers and fighters in the air So India became responsible for co-operating in the defence of her overseas frontiers in Egypt and Malaya The outbreak of war found India therefore only on the verge of this important change In fact, coincident with mechanization it was proposed to reduce the numbers of the Indian Army as a set-off against the additional expense involved in modernization The outbreak of war turned thoughts away from reduction to expansion, but this expansion was conditioned by the equipment available, the rate at which output could be increased, and, above all, the collection of the requisite staff to train new officers required in such large numbers So Indian troops sent overseas to Africa actually learnt to handle the new mechanized vehicles and arms in sight of the enemy General Auchinleck has testified to the efficiency with which they adapted themselves to this demand Sidi Barrani, Keren, Amba Alaga—to cite only three notable scenes of valour—proved the worth of the new Indian Army

The 500,000 mark was reached in the middle of July, 1941 That figure has now been doubled, thanks to the increase in the speed of training and the output of material, but the Army in India still requires improvement, both in quality and quantity of material for its equipment Moreover, India is not yet self supporting in all branches of munitions supply War measures have radically modified the recruiting problems of the Indian Army The net has been thrown wider by raising new regiments in Assam, Bihar and Bengal The Madras regiment has been reconstituted Mahar, Mzbhi and Ramdassia Sikhs are being enrolled The Territorial Force has been converted into regular units The Rawlinson scheme for the Indianization of eight (afterwards twenty-one) units has been scrapped All units are now open to Indian commissioned officers, the course at Dehra Dun being shortened from 2½ years to 18 months, a new training school at Mhow being opened and the Indian wing of the AIRO being called up Further improvements were effected by enabling Bangalore, which hitherto had trained only British cadets, to take in 100 Indian cadets, and Mhow, formerly exclusively for Indians, to take in 100 British cadets,

thus bringing the two schools on the same footing. These are all measures which must be regarded as war expedients, but it is hoped that in the main they will be found to be justified as the basis of a permanent organization.

The cabled war despatches have told how the Indian Army in this war has upheld its long traditions. They show that the new type of officer has made good. We know, as I have said, that the Indian soldier is a voluntary recruit, just as these young officers have of set choice accepted a military career. Yet for the life of me I cannot see why those who champion India's claim to self-government, Dominion Status, or what you will, invariably ignore or belittle this magnificent contribution to the Empire's defence. This contribution deserves the epithet I have given it, but it must not be forgotten that the Indian Army was numerically small and within the rigid limitations imposed by financial considerations it achieved a fine standard of efficiency. It would, however, be futile to ignore the cramping effect of financial stringency, as indeed was recognized by the action taken on the Chatfield Report. That makes it all the more regrettable that an unhappy technique has consistently impelled certain sections of the Indian Press to minimize the value of India's military resources. Cannot this attitude be abandoned to-day? India's claims to equal partnership in the Empire are insulted by being given the support of misrepresentations of the past. British achievements in India have not been faultless. They do, however, include the development of the teamwork which has made the idea of an Indian nation—the dream of thousands of years past—practical and on the point of fulfilment. The future rulers of India are unfairly handicapped by such vilification of their predecessors. It minimizes the difficulties of their task and exposes them, therefore, to the dangers of unjustified disappointment and possibly impetuous criticism.

A PROFESSIONAL ARMY

In the past few weeks exposition of the political problem of India has been accompanied by a spate of fustian of this sort. We hear of "150 years of British rule," "India's exclusion from the Atlantic Charter," "British exploitation of India," and if the Indian Army is mentioned it is dismissed as 'a mercenary army.' One critic thought he was casting sufficient aspersion on it to call it "professional." Well, that is just the point which I should make. The Indian Army is professional, and thank God for that. Moreover, it has long managed to show not only the comradeship of British and Indians, but the comradeship of Indians of all races in arms. The other day a commentator who should know better accused Mr Amery of failing to arm the Hindus. How Mr Amery could have armed the Hindus in a couple of years so that they could become something more than cannon fodder the sapient critic did not reveal. To cheer him up it might be well to remind him that Dogras, Rajputs, Jats, Mahrattas—to take only four of India's finest fighting materials—are Hindus, and their arming has fortunately been a fact of long standing. I have met and talked with some of the young officers of the Indian Army belonging to families well known in Indian politics. They do not conceal their fervent belief in Indian nationalism. They are not inclined to criticize the Congress Party's policy. To some extent they look upon that as a useful goad

to keep the Government up to the mark. They quite naturally feel that the official machine moved too slowly in extending facilities for them to become officers in the army. It was not until 1932 that Dehra Dun was opened under the auspices of our chairman to-day, Sir Philip Chetwode.

As for the Indian soldier, he is sharing in the general advance of thought. Look at the *Fauji Akbar* and you will realize how different is the mentality of the modern sepoy from that of his predecessor. The two have happily certain qualities in common—the finest courage, keen sense of discipline, love of their family and the soil from which they spring. The Indian soldier to-day has learnt much, too, from his service overseas, from contacts which it has brought him with other troops in the Empire.

In the future when India returns to peacetime conditions there will be massive problems to solve. Her new standing in international affairs is recognized. Her tutelage has been exchanged for independent partnership. Besides being one of the world's great agricultural countries, she will be a foremost industrial nation. The machinery of her administration will be all the more exacting in its demands on the intelligence, patriotism and vigour of her sons—aye, and daughters. The men who have fought her battles in the field, who have worked for her sustenance and modern armament, will be competent to take charge of the post-war reconstruction plans. They will have the right. Somehow I feel that much of our political hesitations and diffidences to-day will seem to them irrelevant and of little account. In combining against a common enemy and overcoming him, the sense of unity has been so paramount that it should be able to survive for enhanced application when, stress of battle being past, there arrives the more difficult task of aligning the new India with the world's endeavour to establish social and economic sanity among its peoples.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S W 1, on Wednesday, April 1, 1942, Mr Edwin Haward read a paper entitled 'The Indian Army and the Future'. Field Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., G C B, G C S I, K C M G, D S O, presided.

In introducing the lecturer, the CHAIRMAN said that few men had had longer or more varied experiences of Indian affairs than Mr Edwin Haward. He went out first in 1909, and was political editor of the *Pioneer* 1926-28. Then he became Information Officer to the India Office, in 1930 he went to Shanghai as editor of the *North China Daily News*. In 1938 he became British member of the Information Section of the League of Nations, and in 1939 joined the India Section of the Ministry of Information. In 1940 he was appointed Special Adviser on Indian Affairs at the Far East Bureau of the Ministry of Information at Hong-Kong, and later he spent ten months at Singapore. His experience could, therefore, not be bettered for keeping in touch with Indian opinion.

Mr Haward then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN said that nothing which the lecturer had said in praise of the Indian Army was too great. Nothing was more happy in his own life than his experience of serving with that Army in three campaigns and having had the honour of being Commander-in-Chief in India. It was the most ideal form of military partnership which the world had ever seen—the partnership between the British officer, the Indian commissioned officer, and the Indian private soldier. It was based on complete confidence and complete admiration for each other's gallantry and dependability on every possible occasion. There was nothing quite like it in all the world. It was very unhappy for those who knew the partnership so well to hear it crabbed and belittled.

Mr Haward had spoken of the modern Indian Army, but he made use of an expression that the Indian Army only dated back to 1683, which gave the speaker the opportunity of referring to the earlier history of the Army in India. Our enemies, especially the Germans, had been in the habit of saying that we went to India on conquest bent, but this was not true. We were connected with India for more than a hundred years before we had soldiers there at all. There were a few factory guards in each district.

The first English attempt to get to the Far East was to find the Spice Islands (now the Dutch East Indies), not India, and was made by a man called John Cabot. But he sailed westwards and discovered Newfoundland. This was in 1497-8. It was not until the last day of 1600 that a charter was given by Queen Elizabeth to the East India Company, and they did not go to India, they went to the Spice Islands, and reached Sumatra in 1602. After that the English began to feel their way towards the continent of India, and in 1608 John Hawkins received permission to build a factory at Surat. The first enemies who had to be dealt with were the Portuguese, and in 1612 a certain Captain Best defeated the Portuguese admirals off the mouth of the Tapti River. This began our naval supremacy in Indian waters, and our first settlement on the mainland of India, in the Gulf of Cambay, dated from 1612.

The next enemies were the Dutch, this was a much more serious affair, and it was not until 1654 that we had our first victory over them. In the meantime the Spice Islands had been abandoned, 1611 saw the first settlement in the Bay of Bengal, and Francis Day founded Madras in 1639—the first grant of Indian soil. Bombay was handed over to the English in 1661 (although it was not taken over until 1665) as part of the Infanta Catherine's dowry when she married Charles II. A treaty was made with Sivija in 1670, as it was realized that the English would have to take part in the struggle between the Mogul and the Mahrattas. In 1687 Bombay became the chief city of the English in India.

It was not until 1700 that we began to oppose our last and most formidable enemy, the French, who had carried the war of the Austrian succession into India. French squadrons took Madras, and we were left only with Port St. David, a few miles south of Pondicherry, where a young man named Clive had taken refuge. The French menace produced Wellington, whose dream it was to frustrate the possibility of Napoleon invading India. Napoleon was then in Egypt, dreaming of the conquests of Alexander, and no one knew in what direction he might turn his unconquered legions. Today Hitler sat in Germany with his unconquered legions, and no man knew where he might turn next. India was, perhaps, the most important key, as it was then.

We had been in India one hundred years before we had an Army there, and it was 1665 before the first sepoy was enlisted—and that was by the French, not the English. As the lecturer had said, the Indian Army became a very comfortable affair, it was long service, and the man returned with a pension and was a great asset to his village. That system broke down completely in the Great War, the old fashioned regiments could not meet casualties, and the ranks had to be filled up with raw recruits. The Army became vastly less popular among the agricultural classes, with its short service and no pension, unless they were fortunate enough to be taken on for long service as N.C.O.s.

One of the difficulties of the Commander-in-Chief in India was what was known as the major and minor dangers. The Government of India was responsible for the minor danger—the defence of the frontier against the tribes, and possibly Afghanistan

—and the Imperial Government was responsible for the major danger, that was, attack from outside empires. That meant that the Indian politician relied on obtaining as much money as possible from the Home Government, on the ground that the major danger was theirs, although the immediate danger was India's. In proportion to the number of inhabitants in the area protected by the Army in India, to say nothing of the aid to civil power, the cost per head of the army in India to the Indian taxpayer was ludicrously smaller than that of any other country, especially England. It was, possibly, the cheapest army in the world.

A good deal of fustian was spoken about the Army in India, one criticism was that India should have an army as big as Russia's, but, leaving aside the question of equipment, there were many millions of people in India who could not, by the broadest stretch of imagination, be counted on to make soldiers.

When the speaker went out to India as Chief of Staff he was confronted with the so-called eight unit system. It was unpopular with everybody, and he reintroduced Indian artillery and Indianized a complete division. He also started the Indian Sandhurst, and was abused for doing so. But those who looked forward a little would now say that he and his advisers were right.

One of the greatest difficulties was the question of officers. The right class of men, the natural leaders, did not go forward to be officers. A large number of the so-called fighting races, especially the Muslims, were so uneducated that they could not cope with the profession of an officer in modern days. The schools at which the sons of Indian officers were educated had been extended, and he understood that the position now was immensely improved, and it was much easier to find officers from the class of man who was a natural leader.

General Sir SYDNEY MUSPRATT wished to endorse the lecturer's remarks regarding the Chatfield Committee, and to emphasize how the origin and results of that Committee had been bound up with the question of equipment. The Chairman had dealt with the subject of India's major and minor defence commitments—the major commitment being readiness to meet an international threat, and the minor commitment being the problem of frontier defence. The Field Marshal would bear him out that long before the Chatfield Committee the military authorities in India realized that expeditionary forces would have to be sent overseas for purposes of India's defence, but no official declaration of policy to that effect, with its official implications, had been made. So long as India's commitment was officially confined to frontier defence and internal security, it was not possible to get the money necessary for the modernization of the Army, and there had been a grave danger that its equipment would gradually become more and more out of date. In the winter of 1937/38 the Government of India sent a strong deputation to England to put this before H.M. Government, and to see whether help would be forthcoming to assist in the equipment programme. The deputation was in England for several months and almost convinced the Home Government, but as there was a good deal of money involved they wished to be certain that it should be expended in the best way. Lord Chatfield's Committee was sent out for this purpose, and they reported early in 1939 having accepted in its main outlines the scheme which the Government of India placed before it.

Most unfortunately, the war caught us before the Report could be implemented, and that was the reason why the equipment situation in the Indian Army was so unsatisfactory at the beginning of hostilities. India had always been in a position to raise more troops than could be equipped. The Home Government had made herculean efforts and had kept its promise that the Indian troops should not be sent into the field unequipped, although, as Mr. Haward said, some of them only received their full equipment upon their arrival overseas.

It was very gratifying to hear the Chairman's praise of the Indian Army. He felt that in what we had done for the Army we had made our greatest contribution to India, though only one among many other contributions. The Indian regiment was a microcosm of what one would like India to be: there were not only good relations between the British and Indians, but among the different races of Indians in the regiments. It was an example which he hoped India might be able to follow.

The future of the Indian Army was difficult to discuss when everything was in so fluid a state, but he hoped that the British officer element would be maintained for many a day. The Indian commissioned officers being turned out by Dehra Dun were excellent, and the number of young men of the right sort coming forward was steadily increasing. But he thought that British officers of the best type would be required for many years to come—men who were not out for themselves, but for the team, and who were imbued with the best interests of the Indian Army as a whole.

Mrs EVA M. BELL wished to bear testimony, from the point of view of a woman, against the clever pens who wrote in a derogatory sense of the Indian Army. Soldiers who took the pay of a soldier serving their own King did not come into the category of men hired by foreigners. We bore a very special responsibility to Indian soldiers who had been taken into the Army by every path which led away from home. They had been tortured in Hong Kong, they had fallen in Malaya, and their reputation must not fall a prey to the tendentious writer—the man who accused them of being ‘mercenaries’. Those who knew could very usefully put on record the things they knew, for these soldiers would not be able to tell their own story.

The Indian soldiers built up in their hearts a picture of British officers, and her own memories said ‘Nonsense!’ to the charge that the Indian soldier was a mercenary. She remembered a Sikh woman telling her about her sister. She said ‘My sister gave her lord to the King, and her lord died in battle, and she said ‘I will eat from the King’s hand’. The pension was only Rs. 5 a month, but it came from the King’s hand, and was a token of great dignity to her. A Muslim soldier talked with her at the Taj Mahal. She said, ‘What do you think of it?’ and he answered, ‘He loved her, and, beholding her tomb, all men must weep,’ and she said, ‘I wish we could build something as beautiful to the memory of the Bahadurs, to which he replied ‘The name of the Bahadurs is greater than the Taj Mahal. The Taj Mahal might be bombed tomorrow, but the reputation of the Indian soldier was in our hands, and we should bear witness to their fidelity, their courage, and their grace of manner’.

They had not changed fundamentally. As indicated by the letters from Indian prisoners of war, their ways were very much the old ways. She had written letters for the men from Dunkirk, and when she pressed them to send salaams to their wives, they told her they would be laughed at. So in order that some message should reach their wives, she suggested she should say, ‘Tell your sons that they must obey their mother,’ and they agreed. The Indians would not change their ways lightly. They would develop and seek new paths, but they must be sure of one thing—that we would never be apologetic for them, never apologetic for the relationship we had had with them, and that we would uphold their reputation and do nothing which would belittle their eternal memory.

Sir PATRICK CADELL pointed out that Mahrattas—200 of whom were enlisted as *sewagees* in 1667—had priority in the Indian Army over the Rajputs. The lecturer had also said the Topasses enlisted were Goānese. But they did not belong to the worthy people of Goa, but were Indian Christians who came from Bombay and the districts round it.

The lecturer did not mention the question of caste. This was not a question which could be eliminated in the Indian Army—whether you regard caste as origination from occupation or from race. Caste was a matter of enormous importance in India, and its importance was not decreasing. It had great advantages, but there were certain drawbacks to it. It applied not only to the Hindus, but also affected the Muslims, although in their case it was not a question of tribal rather than caste distinction. Many Indian races and many tracts of country had never produced a soldier, but several castes which used to produce fighting men had ceased to do so, they had taken up other occupations or had ceased to enlist because they did not like the peace-time drill and discipline.

But there were many who were still excellent fighting material, but had been excluded from the Army by the Indians themselves on account of their low caste. In particular, the *Bombay Regiments* might be quoted. They had an excellent record of

loyalty, devotion and courage, and were composed of men of all castes, many from the very low castes. It was always a point of pride in the Bombay Army that there was no pride of caste, only pride of regiment. These men had disappeared from the Indian Army, largely because of the feeling among the higher castes in the regiments, especially when the regiments were more freely moved to the frontier, and were looked down upon by the new men of the other armies because of the low-caste men in their ranks. In the last war we in Bombay were anxious to get as many men as we could. The men of the low castes came forward, but special battalions and companies had to be formed for them. Although these people had considerable pride of ancestry, they knew they had no hope of posterity in the Indian Army. Immediately the war was over they were disbanded.

So long as the caste feeling remained in India it was difficult to see how the general recruitment which some Indian politicians demanded could be carried out. The money available was very limited, and he was afraid always would be, and the military authorities must take the best elements available. They must see that these elements did not cease to join up freely, as might be the case if a caste unpleasing to them was forced into their regiments.

Could anything be done in the way of recruitment on a non-caste basis? The experiment had been made in the territorial battalion of the Mahrattas, the Mahratta Light Infantry. The men, he believed, even fed together. The difficulty about communal feeding had been overcome, so far as the new class of Indian officers was concerned. The making of a national Army must be left to the Indians themselves. It was certainly a drawback in such an army that some 85 per cent. of it should come from its northern portion. But it was for the Indians themselves to suggest how the Army could be made more representative of India as a whole.

Mr CHINNA DURAI said Mr Haward's talk brought one question to his mind, and that was: What was being done right now? That was the crux of the whole thing. What was to be the future of the Army? Everything would go by the board if Germany and Japan got into India. Much had been said about the courage of the Indian Army. The whole world had been thrilled by its exploits wherever it had come into contact with the enemy.

He was concerned about the British plan and its reception by the Indian people. He thought the plan had made a tremendous impression, but there seemed to be a little bickering. He could almost foresee that Congress might be inclined to throw it all up on mere technicalities. He wanted India to dwell not so much on the British plan and how it appealed to the communities and to India as a whole, but on what was the most important and urgent thing to be attended to that would save India from danger. When he thought about the claim that India should have an Indian defence minister, he asked himself who was the Indian who could dictate policy to General Wavell. He could not think of any man who could teach him his job or give him instructions to go ahead with the big tasks in India.

People in India might think that Congress was in a position to lead, but would it prove a success in practice? Congress might have some knowledge of the riots between Hindus and Muslims and the picketing of toddy shops, but what knowledge had it of a war of this magnitude? That was what had to be looked at. India had to be saved, that ought to be the primary concern of everyone, there was no question of creating a deadlock at a time like this.

Mr JOSEPH NISSEM said the Indian Army's relations with its British officers were based on manly comradeship, and that was what was wanted in India today in both military and civil relations. There was something peculiarly significant in Mr Curtin's recent remark when he said that the Australian Parliament and Government had passed a self-denying ordinance not to interfere in any respect with the war strategy or with the generals taking part in these critical operations. He would organize the nation to back the Army to the end.

The whole Army was now mechanized, and oil was absolutely essential. Burma, with its 1½ million tons of oil, was threatened, the Dutch East Indies oil had gone, shipping was necessary to bring oil from the Persian Gulf, and this was the time to

remind the audience of the work of his friend, the late Mr Ryan, a great forestry officer, who said that in the Indian forests there was a source of alcohol concentrate in the flowers of the mowra tree which could be turned into power alcohol by easily installed machinery. He hoped the India Office would give consideration to this suggestion as quickly as possible.

If the despatches which Warren Hastings wrote to Indian notables were examined, it would be found that the returned soldier was entitled to a piece of land for cultivation for the rest of his life, and he suggested that the Government of India should interest itself in seeing that the returned soldier should be provided with similar *jagirs*. It would be very easy to give them this piece of land free of rent by compensating Provincial Governments for loss of revenue, and if some such promise were held out to the serving soldier, or to his family if he did not return, heart would be put into the whole of the Army, and something would be done in keeping with Indian traditions. They were on the eve of very great developments, and one of the things they wished to see was that the Indian Army would become very much more a part of the nation and be recognized by the nation as the agency to which they would owe their salvation and their destiny.

Mr HAWARD, in reply, said he felt very highly honoured that his little paper had produced such extraordinarily interesting speeches, starting with the valuable historical contribution by the Chairman himself. He had seen the Indian soldier in Malaya and round the villages of Singapore Island. The way in which he talked to the villagers was a good illustration of Mrs Bell's reference to his grace of manner. It was amazing to him to read conclusions that disasters had befallen because of lack of contact with the people of the country. The English—men and women—Indians, Australians in Malaya did their job as well as they could do in the circumstances. The other day when he saw Mr D. M. McDougall, of the Hong Kong Civil Service, the only civilian of the party which escaped from Hong Kong on the eve of the surrender, he was told of the magnificent rearguard action fought by the Indian troops in Kowloon. Nothing which was said in tribute to the Indian Army and to the men who had trained and led them could be too much.

Sir FRANK NOYCE proposed a very warm vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding, and to Mr Haward for a most interesting address. There was no one more qualified to preside at a lecture on the Indian Army than its late Commander-in-Chief, there was no one to whom that Army owed so much. The magnitude of his achievements could be judged by the magnitude of the achievements of the Indian Army.

The CHAIRMAN, in making a brief acknowledgment, referred to General Muspratt's remarks regarding equipment. When he himself first went to India in the last war every round of small ammunition came from England, but when this war broke out India was manufacturing 92 per cent of the equipment required for her own Army. That was a remarkable achievement.

He had been on the Staff for many years, and they had repeatedly asked the Government to prepare for war, without result. We had had to fight from weakness to strength, and when this was realized it would be seen that our achievements had been colossal. We must be patient, we should do it in the end. Everybody was working hard, and the Army was getting more formidable every day. We should soon be fighting from strength to weakness instead of perpetually from weakness to strength.

INDIAN WOMEN OF TODAY

BY MRS S E RUNGANADHAN

I FEEL greatly honoured by having been invited to speak before a distinguished audience, composed of members of the Royal Empire Society and the East India Association, but I do so with much diffidence, as I am not used to public-speaking. I am happy, however, in having as Chairman today Lady Willingdon, whom I had the privilege of knowing in India and with whom I was associated in some of the women's organizations of Madras, where she was greatly esteemed and loved for the keen personal interest she took in building up friendly relationships between Indian women and their Western sisters. Wherever she was in India—whether it was Bombay, Madras or Delhi—she used her great influence and worked with characteristic energy in helping forward the cause of Indian women, and she has left behind a host of friends who remember her with affection and gratitude.

Since coming to England, I have met a great many persons who are deeply interested in India and its peoples, and yet do not realize that the country is changing rapidly and that Indian women are playing a great part in promoting its advancement. I am glad to have this opportunity, therefore, of giving you some idea of the remarkable awakening which has taken place among Indian women in recent years, and of the progress in education which has helped to widen their outlook and has enabled them to undertake various forms of national service.

Until thirty to thirty-five years ago women took no interest in the public life of the country, as their sphere of activity was entirely confined to the care of their children and household duties, so that their outlook on life was naturally very narrow and limited. Education among women has been very slow, chiefly because of the ignorance of the mothers, whose position in the home was one of slavish submission to the men, and their unwillingness to break away from age-old traditions, customs and religious beliefs. It is therefore not very surprising that in the latest available statistics of literacy among men and women in British India the percentage of literates should be so low—for out of a total population of 257 millions, we find 16 per cent are literate among men and only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent among women, which works out at 5 in every 200!

You can, therefore, understand what a hard and desperate struggle it has been for Indian women to advance. It is a matter for gratification that this small percentage of educated women has realized to some extent the tremendous responsibility that rests on them to carry the torch of education and enlightenment to their sisters who are still groping in the darkness of ignorance. The women of India may best be considered under three types—the workers who have entered the field of labour, the vast numbers of the orthodox who are bound by age-old traditions and customs, and the advanced emancipated women of modern India.

WOMEN WORKERS

India is largely agricultural and about 75 per cent. of her population live in rural areas and are dependent on the land. Women provide labour in the fields and plantations. In the tea gardens of Assam and the Nilgiris they are largely employed, but are poorly paid—generally half the men's wages. They are also employed in cotton and jute factories, as well as in coal and salt mining, in the production of silk and woollen goods, and in the tobacco and pottery works.

Industrial life presses heavily on women, for in India the female mill-hand ranges from the age of thirteen upwards, and is, in addition, a mother having to look after her children, to cook, clean, and sweep her home. Nearly a million women are working in organized industries and they suffer from many hardships, particularly from bad housing conditions. Women's organizations are, however, taking up the problems of female labour, and it is to be hoped that these disabilities will soon be removed.

Orthodox womanhood includes the great majority of Indian women, many of whom know of no possibility of change, or, if they do, openly oppose it. They are living exactly as women lived hundreds of years ago, and therefore are not touched by the great advancement in recent years. This is chiefly met with in rural areas, where women live such secluded lives, and have no opportunity of coming into contact with women of more advanced views. They have for generations lived in an atmosphere of ignorance and superstition, and so firmly believe that it is their fate to remain in a condition of servitude and submission. It is even worse in the case of women of the depressed classes, who are outside the pale of Hindu society, and therefore are looked upon as outcasts and are treated with little or no consideration.

RURAL WELFARE WORK

The problem of giving some kind of education to these poor women is immense—for it is difficult to eradicate customs and traditions of a lifetime. Women teachers are specially needed to help in teaching them to read and write in the vernacular and thus help in widening their outlook. Also there is need for compulsory education of the children in rural areas, for these children as they acquire knowledge will help in teaching the older generation and thus lighten the task of adult education, which is of such vital importance for national progress. The radio and cinema are methods of educating the masses. Educative films dealing with sanitation, preventive measures in times of epidemics, care of children, and cleanliness are of immense value.

Experiments are being made in training rural welfare workers, and quite recently such an experiment was started in the United Provinces, where women wanting to undertake such service are being trained in the areas where they live and with which they are well acquainted. Sixty of them are being trained at Fyzabad in physical culture, adult literacy, handicrafts like knitting and embroidery, child welfare, girl guiding, etc. After six months they are sent back to their villages in order to promote better living among the villagers by their teaching and example.

In the villages where mass conversions to Christianity are taking place amongst the depressed classes, there is a wonderful transformation in the lives and characters of these people—both men and women—for they begin to realize that they are no longer the despised and downtrodden race they were, but have a new value and use in the Christian fellowship. They have a desire to learn and to improve themselves and in a generation or two become useful, intelligent citizens.

Indian Christian women enjoy far greater freedom than their Hindu and Muslim sisters—for they are not fettered by age-old traditions and customs, nor are they cut off from contact with the outer world through enforced seclusion of the purdah system, and so we find them leading as regards education and advancement. They have been quick to imbibe knowledge and have been willing to perform forms of social service which the Hindus and Muslims are reluctant to undertake. In fact, Indian Christian women have been the pioneers in social service and were the first to take up medical work.

Educated women realize that education is the greatest social problem in India, and until female instruction has made sufficient headway India cannot attain the place to which she aspires as a modern nation. The progress of women's education in recent years has been remarkable, and we find it now universally recognized that education for girls as much as for boys is essential for national progress. Government and mission colleges have sprung up rapidly, and hundreds of women are taking up higher education as eagerly as the men. There are today over 10,000 women students in the various arts and professional colleges in India. We have Indian women doctors, barristers, lawyers, university lecturers, and honorary magistrates, one was till recently the Surgeon-General of an Indian State, another was a Minister in the United Provinces, while two were Deputy-Speakers in Provincial Legislative Councils. Women are taking up painting, music, dancing, and film work. These women who have been educated have brought great credit to their sex and have led the movements for social reform, such as legislation to prevent child marriage and to terminate the *devadasi* system, which meant dedicating young girls to dancing in the temples at religious festivals but which really meant a life of prostitution.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

From 1912 there began the movement for establishing associations of women, which helped to create group consciousness and united action, both of which have been useful in bringing Indian women into influence and publicity. The All-India Women's Conference, started fourteen years ago, as the foremost women's organization in India, is largely due to the united efforts of some of our ablest and most distinguished women, and has contributed in no small measure to the awakening of Indian women to the responsibilities of service to their country. One of its first tasks was to voice dissatisfaction with the present educational system, and it was instrumental in starting the education fund, the proceeds of which helped to bring into existence the Lady Irwin College at Delhi for home science and the training of teachers and psychological research. The Conference played

an important part in the establishment of the claim of female enfranchisement in British India, which has enabled women to be represented in the Legislatures and other public organizations where educated women are of immense value in voicing the needs and rights of their less fortunate sisters. The advance has worked for the adequate education of future mothers, for medical inspection in schools and factories, and for the removal of many social and legal disabilities, rural reconstruction and educational and civic training have been emphasized, and the Conference has set before itself the important task of rousing public opinion as regards the urgent need for the reform of many features of Hindu society.

The law of Hindu marriage, involving questions of the ownership of property, succession, and maintenance, imposes many legal disabilities on women. The Central Legislative Assembly appointed a committee three years ago to report on the reforms necessary to improve the rights of Hindu women, and there is a growing volume of opinion in favour of the removal of their disabilities.

The education of opinion in social matters has been a very slow process in India owing to the rigidity of the social structure, but there are clear indications that the movement for reform is rapidly gaining strength. It has been pointed out that this rigidity has been helped to a certain extent by British judicial administration, which has paid excessive deference to obsolete customs and usages and has failed to recognize the movement of educated opinion in favour of social adjustments to changing conditions. But with the creation of popular legislatures conditions are beginning to change. The number of legislative measures brought forward in recent years tends to show that there is a real desire among the advanced sections of the community to remove objectionable features in the social system. Legislation to be effective must, of course, have popular support. But that support is beginning to come in increasing measure through the influence of women both within and without the legislatures. The growing participation of women in the work of the legislatures and in public organizations gives ground for hope that many far-reaching reforms in the Hindu social system will be brought about in the near future.

CO-OPERATION

The appointment of a liaison officer representing the All-India Women's Conference to the corresponding officer appointed by the British Women's Organization in England, to keep in touch with all its activities, has been instrumental in bringing about sympathetic co-operation of women workers abroad and has been of immense service to the Conference. A bulletin containing news of the Indian Women's Movement is published quarterly by the liaison group in London, which has helped to spread information regarding the work of the Conference to a great many organizations here. The Conference has always upheld the ideal of international co-operation and friendship as an indispensable factor in the ultimate unity of all women in the service of humanity. The formation of the All-India Village Industries Association has helped in rural reconstruction and general classes in rural areas to teach villagers weaving, knitting, embroidery, and other cottage industries as well as typing, bookbinding, music, etc. and instruc-

tion in cleanliness, personal hygiene, sanitation, food values, first aid, nursing, and midwifery have been the result of agitation by the All-India Women's Association

In 1929, when the Civil Disobedience Movement was launched and Mahatma Gandhi started *satyagraha*, the response of the women to the call was remarkable. Within three years over 5,000 women had served terms of imprisonment, which meant loss of livelihood, loss of property, loss of caste, and loss of reputation. In this political struggle in the country the women achieved their own freedom to a very large extent, for it brought together women of all castes, communities, and of all degrees of poverty and wealth, and by sharing together the burdens, the sacrifices, and the joy of acting in response to the need of the moment, with no hindering thought of customs and traditions, they learnt to respect one another's capabilities and achievements in the cause of Nationalism. All this has brought about a wonderful unity amongst Indian women and has taught them to realize that united efforts and mutual co-operation are essential for success in any undertaking.

WOMEN TEACHERS

Now, coming to some of the problems which confront our educated women, we find that as 75 per cent of the population are agricultural and live in rural areas, they are not much affected by the advancement made in the cities. Here, therefore, is great scope for service. We stand in urgent need of women teachers who would be willing to live amongst the villagers, and by patient and selfless service help them to improve their condition and teach them the value of vocational training, and of starting cottage industries which would help the poor villagers to augment their meagre earnings and gradually raise their standard of living. The poverty and ignorance in the rural areas are appalling, and we find the villager, who has for generations lived in the most primitive way, quite content to continue in this mode of life. But so long as this terrible apathy remains, no progress or advancement can be made. Compulsory primary education for girls as well as boys is needed—more schools with adequately trained women teachers, who will also help in adult education, so that the older generation may widen their knowledge and so overcome superstition and senseless customs and traditions. Illiteracy and ignorance are two of the gravest problems, and seem almost insurmountable.

EARLY MARRIAGE AND PURDAH

Another big problem is that of child marriage and all the sorrow and suffering it entails. The All-India Women's Conference has, through its persistent representations to Government, been instrumental in getting the Sarda Act enforced. By it the marriageable age of Hindu girls has been raised to fourteen years. Before this came into force girls were married at the absurdly early age of twelve, and many Indian mothers realized that it was a terrible handicap that their daughters should become mothers at the age of fourteen, and by determined and united effort it has now been made illegal for girls to be married at that age. But although the Sarda Act was passed to make child marriage illegal, it has not been very successful in

preventing these marriages, and we find parents evading punishment by having the rites performed in areas where it is not enforced by the law, as in French territory or in the Indian States, which again indicates the stubborn resistance put up by a very large section of orthodox Hindus to any change in age-old tradition and religious belief.

These early marriages have gone on in the past for generations and have brought untold misery, sorrow, and suffering in their train, for early marriage inevitably leads to a tragic increase in the number of India's young widows. Religion forbids young widows being remarried, and so they are looked upon as a great burden and responsibility. Numbers of them, however, are getting trained in various women's organizations and are becoming excellent nurses, midwives, and health visitors, so that they are to some extent being made self-supporting. But there still remain a great many young widows who are suffering much hardship and sorrow. If social advance would reach the stage of freely permitting them to be trained as teachers and to become economically independent, it would be a double blessing—it would open up a bright and useful future for them, on the one hand, and it would, on the other, greatly improve the education of school children. One of the most serious defects of the system of primary education in India is the lack of trained women teachers. Small boys, as well as girls, need to be taught by trained women if the education given to them is to be sound and fruitful. If young widows were allowed to go out and teach, they would not only be happily occupied but would bear their share in the uplift of the land.

Another great problem is the purdah system, which dates from the Muslim invasions of India some seven or eight centuries ago, and which was found necessary for the protection of women at that time. This system continued for generations and is well established in a great many provinces, and today at least 40 million women still live in strict seclusion behind the purdah. The physical results of such seclusion are chronic ill-health and anæmic conditions. Tubercular diseases are also very prevalent among these women, for they spend most of their lives in closed rooms and take little or no exercise. Educated Indians are anxious that purdah should go, but here again it is the fight against age-old custom. But purdah women are being educated and they are beginning to realize what a great handicap this seclusion is, and several Muhammadan ladies are giving up purdah. Leaders of their community like the Begum Shah Nawaz and Begum Amir-ud-din have done much to encourage higher education for Muhammadan girls, and are helping in this great drive against purdah and all the evils it entails.

MISSIONARY EFFORTS

It would not be out of place to say a few words here about the great part which Christian missions have played in the cause of women's education in India. They were the first to introduce girls' education into India in the early nineteenth century, and are still helping our women in acquiring the right kind of training and experience which are so essential in carrying on various forms of social services in India.

The medical missions are doing marvellous work in training our women

as doctors, midwives, and nurses, who are then sent into the villages where, by kindness and tact, they are slowly helping the poor, ignorant mothers to overcome their fear of hospitals and bringing medical aid to them in their homes. The Salvation Army is doing splendid rescue work and helping in saving women from prostitution, and by their care and kindness are teaching them new principles and higher codes of morality. The industrial missions are undertaking the training of poor illiterate women in various kinds of needlework, weaving, embroidery, and lace-making as a means of livelihood. The mission colleges for women are teaching our girls to break down the barriers of caste and class distinctions, and are helping them to be self-reliant, unselfish, and to respect the rights of others. Indian girls are also encouraged to manage their own hostels, and thus they are learning the rudiments of self-government. In all these ways missionary organizations have made a valuable contribution towards helping our women to realize the importance of education and specialized training, and they have also helped in no small measure in building up a better understanding of Christian principles and fellowship.

Thus, partly owing to these Christian influences and to Western thought generally, but mainly as the effect of the spirit of nationalism, Indian women are now acutely aware of their responsibilities as citizens and realize that they have a great and vital part to play in national life. They are organizing effort not only for political purposes but for various forms of public and social service. They are eager to ameliorate the conditions of life of the poor and down-trodden classes and to work for the unity and progress of the country. The women's movement is still, it is true, confined to a comparatively small section of the community, but there is every indication that this new surging desire for a larger and more active life of service to the nation and even to the world-community is spreading among women in ever widening circles.

During the recent visit of Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek to Delhi, Madame Chiang paid a warm tribute to the women of India at a reception given to her by the All India Women's Conference. It must have been a source of great encouragement to Indian women that their efforts for the moral and social progress of the country were appreciated by one who is herself an inspiring example of selfless and devoted service in the cause of women's advancement in China.

INDIA'S WAR EFFORT

Before concluding, I would like to touch briefly on the co-operation and help given by our women in India's great war effort. Through organizations like the Red Cross Society, the St. John Ambulance Association, and the Women's Auxiliary Corps in Bombay, Indian women have responded readily to the call for service, and are actively assisting in various branches of work. In almost every big Indian city, women have come forward to shoulder new responsibilities. In Bombay and other big ports, Indian women have organized various forms of entertainment for overseas troops. They are also taking an active part in work connected with A.R.P. and motor transport—but are chiefly concerned in providing comforts for men on active service and in the relief of suffering.

The generous response of the women of India to the *Silver Trinket Fund* organized by Lady Lanthgow for the relief of sick and wounded soldiers was remarkable. The manner in which both rich and poor contributed so freely and generously illustrates how deeply moved the women of India have been by the call for sacrifice in this great struggle against tyranny and aggression. The *Silver Trinket Fund* of India has contributed to the *Thimble Fund* of England the large sum of £20,680, which has been the means of supplying the Forces in the Middle East with a blood transfusion plant and mobile bacteriological laboratories, mobile canteens, and ambulances. From the same fund a sum of £3,480 met the cost of eight ambulances for the Air Ministry and eleven ambulances for use in the Middle East and India. Many Indian women have given donations to the Lord Mayor's Air Raid Distress Fund. The generous contribution of Rs 20,000 from the Maharani of Jaipur to the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund for the relief of air-raid victims in London was notable. Apart from financial aid, Indian women are helping in making bandages, first-aid boxes, and knitted garments—collecting and dispatching books, games, and clothing. The women of Bengal have presented a Spitfire to the R A F and are busy collecting donations for a second. Also it should not be forgotten that hundreds of our women are working side by side with their menfolk in Indian factories engaged in producing war materials.

Here in England Indian women are working for the *Indian Comforts Fund*, which provides comforts for our Indian troops in England and for the thousands of Indian seamen whose duties in the *Mercantile Marine Services* bring them to these shores.

Thus Indian women, too, realize the great need for whole-hearted and united service in helping to win this war, and are working in the great cause of freedom and justice.

FREE OF COMMUNALISM

The most heartening thing about the women's movement in India is that there is absolutely nothing communal about it. Educated women, whatever their creed or community, are free from the communal jealousies and antagonisms which are so prominent in the public life of the country, and are determined to promote the unity and progress of India. We, not long ago, had a wonderful illustration of this when Begum Shah Nawaz refused to relinquish her nomination as representative of Indian women on the Viceroy's National Council of Defence, thereby showing that she was putting her country and her convictions before party or community, for she really felt she could be of use in the cause of women's advancement. We have, therefore, a very powerful instrument of national unity in the women's movement in India, and it is essential that it should be encouraged and strengthened in all possible ways.

It is here, it seems to me, that British women, particularly those who are resident in India, could do a great deal to assist the movement and to promote better understanding and friendly relations between Indians and the British people. The wives of some of our Governors have set a notable example of goodwill and friendliness towards Indian women. In my own

Province of Madras, Lady Willingdon (as I have already mentioned) and her successors at Government House have done notable work and have many friends among Indian women. But, unfortunately, their example is not followed by all their fellow-countrywomen in India. With some commendable exceptions, many of them have very few social contacts with Indian women and very little knowledge of the progress which they are making in the country. I quite realize that the problem of social relations presents many difficulties in India, but it is time that every effort should be made to overcome these difficulties and to establish cordial relations between the women of the two countries. I can assure my Western sisters that any genuine desire on their part to make friendly contacts with the women of India would meet with a ready response from the other side. The establishment of such friendly contacts and the growth of mutual knowledge and understanding would be a powerful factor in improving Indo-British relationship in wider spheres and in paving the way for a new era of goodwill and co-operation between Great Britain and India.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A JOINT meeting of the East India Association and the Royal Empire Society was held on Tuesday, April 21, 1942, when Mrs. S. E. Runganadhan read a paper on *Indian Women of Today*.

The Chair was taken by the Most Hon. the MARCHIONESS OF WILLINGDON, who, in introducing the lecturer, said that the subject on which she was to speak was one very dear to her. She had lived in Bombay for five years and in Madras for four, and she had met many famous people from India also in her travels in Canada and China and her visits to Geneva. The Indians were a most faithful people and remembered their old friends. Since her recent bereavement she had received over nine thousand letters from that country, and was pleased to add that she had answered every one of them!

Mrs. RUNGANADHAN then read her paper.

Lady HARTOG congratulated Mrs. Runganadhan on her interesting and valuable presentation. To one who, like the speaker, had frequently been asked to address audiences on this subject, it seemed almost like taking an unfair advantage to be an Indian woman and to be able to explain to English audiences, in such beautiful English, what Indian women were really like. But there were some advantages on the other side, because one could more freely pay tribute to the outstanding abilities, devotion, gifts of eloquence, and organizing capacity which Indian women had brought into public and social affairs since they left their traditional fastnesses to take part in this work. Through the Women's Advisory Council on Indian Affairs, which was formed at the time of the first Round Table Conference, English women had got to know some of the leaders of the Indian women's movement. She agreed most heartily with the lecturer that it was one of the greatest achievements of the All-India Women's Conference that through these difficult years they had managed to keep communal dissension entirely out of their ranks. Three successive Presidents of

the All-India Women's Conference had been respectively an Indian Christian, a Muslim, and a Hindu.

There was one point on which she would like to ask a question—a point which struck a very novel note in English ears. She believed that Indian women school teachers and doctors received more pay—not less—than Indian men in a similar position. She was pleased to see, the other day, that the Indian Medical Service was opening its ranks to women doctors, both Indian and European.

She wished to endorse Mrs. Runganathan's appeal to English women in general whose work took them to India to associate themselves more closely and intimately with Indian women. Perhaps it was not too much to hope that through the war, working with common aims and facing common dangers, they might find that closer interest and fellowship which they all so greatly desired.

Mrs. EVA M. BELL said that she could not express how enchanted she had been by the words of the lecturer. They must have fallen like balm upon that audience. She had placed before them the most extraordinary but true and well balanced picture of India. Yet the speaker had found herself breaking away from the quiet continuity of the lecturer's words to picture what an exciting thing it was in history, this relationship of Eastern and Western women. Perhaps Englishwomen in India had not been universally privileged to know Indian women well, yet what an exciting thing it was to know that the immemorial customs of Indian women in so far as they meant restriction of freedom had been broken—not indeed that the harvest had yet been reached, but the spring was here, and it was already possible to recognize what the harvest would be. With these women they had had a great friendship. To a great extent their ways had endeared Indian women to English women as nothing else could have done, and in these hours when they knew that India was in danger there came to her, as there must come to many present, a vivid realization of the friends they had among the wives and mothers of Indian soldiers.

When the lecturer said, what she was sure was true, that India still felt the widow to be a great responsibility, she felt that England should shoulder her share of that responsibility and regard it as a privilege to bear something of the burden of those who were made widows today as a result of what was happening in Burma, Libya, and on the seas. And on their side, Indian women, who had hitherto known of the sahib only by the reputation he had won in distant fields, now knew more intimately through their own folk of his gallantry in this war. If there was one thing which tested the fundamental emotions it was war, it refined both laughter and crying, and it liberty lay as the goal of this great war, one prayed that the happiness for which their heart was so eager would also not be denied them.

Mrs. L. S. AMERY said that the message which Mrs. Runganathan had given was to her a dream come true, and she hoped there would be many more dreams which would come true. She thanked her a thousand times on behalf of the audience for her beautiful address.

Lord HAILEY, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the speaker, said that it was always a pleasure to meet Lady Willingdon, and especially on this occasion, which must appeal to her in particular because her friendship with Indian women had been so real. It was not a friendship of policy, not a calculated friendship which it was her official duty to encourage, but a real, intimate, personal friendship. As a result she had won an affection in India which he thought few could parallel, and had left behind her a name which would long be in the memory of India itself.

THE REJECTED PLAN FOR INDIA

BY SIR ALFRED WATSON

THE Government Declaration carried by Sir Stafford Cripps to India has been rejected by all parties and has been formally withdrawn. Technically dead, it was never more alive

The Moving Finger writes, and having writ
Moves on, nor all thy piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all thy tears wash out a word of it

On what has been offered and said there can be no going back, this Declaration stands as the starting point of any negotiations regarding the future government of India, as much a landmark as the Montagu Declaration of 1919 or the original promise of Lord Irwin that the goal of constitutional reform in India is Dominion Status. It ranks with the Atlantic Charter and is just as capable of realization. I place the document on record for reference.

His Majesty's Government, having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of the promises made in regard to the future of India, have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realization of self government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion, associated with the United Kingdom and the other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown, but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs.

His Majesty's Government therefore make the following declaration:

(a) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.

(b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of the Indian States in the Constitution-making body.

(c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to

(1) The right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides.

With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full status as the Indian Union, and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

(2) The signing of a Treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution-making body. This Treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands; it will make provision, in accordance with the undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities, but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in the future its relationship to the other Member States of the British Commonwealth.

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution, it will be neces-

sary to negotiate a revision of its Treaty arrangements, so far as this may be required in the new situation.

(d) The Constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities

Immediately upon the result being known of the Provincial Elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of the Provincial Legislatures shall, as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the Constitution making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the electoral college

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of the representatives of British India as a whole, and with the same powers as the British Indian members

(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organizing to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India

As you know, the Declaration, amplified by the subsequent explanations of Sir Stafford, divides itself into two parts, the one dealing with government while war continues, the other with the methods by which the form of government would be transformed after the war in accord with the ideas of Indian parties. For the interim period the whole of the portfolios in the Executive Council of the Governor-General were offered to representatives of the Indian communities, with the exception of the portfolio of Defence, the holders being nominated by the parties, since choice by election is out of the question in the midst of a war. With the cessation of hostilities machinery was to be set up by which Indians themselves could frame a future constitution, and when that constitution was produced the British Government undertook to ratify it, subject only to a treaty that would enable the British Government to maintain its obligations to the racial and religious minorities. The right to secede from the British Commonwealth of Nations was specifically granted—a matter of no little importance having regard to conflicting interpretations of the Statute of Westminster

THE RESERVATION OF DEFENCE

This double plan was thrashed out under intensive pressure by the War Cabinet itself without, as far as I can gather, calling to any degree upon the expert assistance that was available. And it is characteristic of a British Cabinet that in dealing with the affairs of India in a hurry it consistently blunders. I would cite as one example the appointment of the Simon Commission without a single Indian member upon that body and the adjustments that became necessary immediately the Commission reached India's shores. On the present occasion the mistake was the reservation of Defence in the interim government. To make that exception was to present the

leaders of Congress with the eagerly welcomed opportunity of raising one of those sandstorms that sweep across Northern India, blotting out all wide vision of the landscape. Amid the ferment about Defence the larger failure to even approach agreement about the constitutional scheme could be obscured, the fact that everything for which Indian parties had clamoured was being conceded when war ceased might be forgotten or overlooked by the spectators abroad, amid the loud protests that something that Indians desired was being withheld now.

This single reservation was, in my view, a blunder of the first magnitude, simply because it was worth nobody's while to withhold from Indian hands what must be an office of minor importance. The supreme direction of the war belonged to the Pacific War Council and the War Cabinet at home, on both of which bodies India was offered representation. The conduct of operations in the field rested, and must rest, with the Commander-in-Chief, who showed himself in the course of the negotiations willing to relieve his shoulders of a great number of the smaller tasks and duties that burden him. In the aggregate these, as specified in the White Paper, when conceived of in relation to the vast spaces of India and the enormous numbers of the Indian population are such as might dizzy and appal a superman. They certainly would provide more than a full-time occupation for the most experienced of Indian administrators. A Ministry of Defence, not more limited in power than that of any of the Dominions or even of our own Secretary for War, it would have been wise to concede from the beginning. That would have cut the cackle and enabled us to come to the horses.

It is easy to see what was in the mind of the Cabinet in embarking on the limitation. Conceivably, Congress might have insisted on the installation in the Defence Ministry of a pacifist follower of Mr. Gandhi just released from confinement for preaching to the populace that nothing beyond soul-force should be used in resisting an invader. Writing only a fortnight ago I said "Strange things can happen in India, but even in India that was a risk that might safely be taken." In the light of what has happened since, the doubts of the British Cabinet do not seem so remote from possibilities as they did. Congress is back to pacifism, with Gandhism once again in the saddle, Mr. Rajagopalachari chased into the wilderness of opposition, and Pandit Nehru apparently swallowing, in the interests of party discipline, all his heroic talk about guerilla warfare and scorched earth. A Defence Minister urging that the populace should lie down before the invader would indeed be a spectacle for the gods, but an experiment upon which no country could embark. In its inconsistency it is only paralleled by Krishna Menon's appeals on one day for money to support Congress policy in Great Britain, and on the next his screaming from a platform in Trafalgar Square for the opening of a second front in Europe.

THE REAL ISSUE

Do not let it be supposed that I give any sanction to the idea that the actual breakdown of the negotiations came upon this question of an Indian Ministry of Defence. Most of the talk about that subject was a small part of

endeavour to camouflage the fact that the main proposals for the after-war period, and for the interim period alike, were such as did not satisfy, and could not satisfy, in full the desires of any one of the Indian parties or communities

Congress knew well that by raising its terms for settlement to a point impossible of concession it could end the negotiations and seem to put the British Government in the wrong, as refusing what was represented as a demand from the Indian people. Hence the final proposal for what was quaintly called a "National Government" untrammelled by any control by the Viceroy or the British Government—a Cabinet responsible to no Legislature and to no electorate, chosen nobody knows how, but irremovable whatever its acts might be. Well might Mr Jinnah describe the proposal as one "for creating a Fascist Grand Council," particularly after Pandit Nehru had expressed the dislike of Congress to a composition Cabinet as "a thing that would have made the functioning of a National Government most difficult." Upon this matter Sir Stafford was bound to stand firm and to describe the Congress demand in terms that lack nothing of the pungency of the comment of Mr Jinnah. That did not prevent Pandit Nehru claiming that the reaction of India to the breakdown would be "one of irritation against the British Government."

Sir Stafford Cripps has shown the disposition of a Mark Tapley amid the ruin of his hopes, but he recognized clearly enough in his final letter to Maulana Azad that all the talk in which he had been involved about a Defence Ministry did not conceal the fact that the main constitutional proposals were rejected.

A COURAGEOUS PLUNGE

If still cheerful, Sir Stafford has returned from India a wiser man. Perhaps it is not surprising that one who had recently experienced so dazzling a success in public affairs, who, having been ostracized by his own party, had first seen, as Ambassador in Russia, the most startling *volte face* in human history, and had returned to take his place at one bound as the Commons Leader in the Government of his own country should imagine, in spite of his recent contacts with Indian leaders, that conflicts with a thousand years of history behind them could be smoothed away in three weeks of conversation punctuated by the distant dropping of bombs. He knows better now, but the spirit of hope remains alive.

Let it not be supposed that I regard his courageous plunge into the maelstrom of Indian controversy as a failure. Far from it. In one aspect it is a triumphant achievement. It has cleared away the mists from men's minds. After the publication throughout the world of the British Declaration there can no longer be the pretence that what is called British Imperialism holds up political advance in India. America, which has been woefully misinformed in the past, is now wondering what Indians can want if an independence as complete as that of any nation in the world is not enough. The sweeping change in American opinion as regards India is a great gain. So is the increased attention that men and women in this country have been compelled to give to Indian affairs. The bulk of our people are just beginning to try to understand India when we are finally

abandoning a responsibility that has been ours for nearly two hundred years. The Cripps mission has brought about the double change.

So, though it failed in the larger sense, Sir Stafford Cripps' effort was worth while. It helped to educate public opinion outside India, even if, as Pandit Nehru has since asserted, it worsened the position in India itself by forcing every party to face its fences. The breakdown was over what may be called the after-war proposals for the Government of India, although at times it was made to appear as if it came on the interim proposals. On that point Sir Stafford Cripps is clear. In a moment of bitterness he said that the vital parts of the Government Declaration, which was full and free self-government for India, had never been mentioned in his discussions with the parties.

THE OPTION ON UNION

What was new in the Declaration? It was not full self-government for India, since that was provided for in the 1935 Act and the oft-repeated assurance of Dominion Status. It was not even the setting up of a constitution-making body, for that has always been consequential upon self-government and had been precisely affirmed in previous declarations of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. Not even the fixing of a time for the change "immediately after the war" went beyond what had already been outlined by the Secretary of State. What was new was the undertaking that if any province or State was not willing to accept the constitution it might contract out and itself enter into direct relations as a Dominion with Great Britain.

That clause was no doubt conceived as something that would placate the Muslims of the Muslim League with their demand for Pakistan. There was something in the declaration for every party—full independence to meet the Congress demand, the right of secession for the peoples who did not wish to accept a Hindu Raj, the participation of the Indian States upon an equal basis in the work of constitution making. Like every attempt at political compromise in India it was immediately assailed from every side. The Hindu Mahasabha would have none of it because it divided India and enabled Muhammadans to escape from Hindu rule. The Muslim League, while welcoming the right of secession, failed to find a definite endorsement of Pakistan, and so rejected the plan. The Sikhs complained that they had been betrayed because, placed as they are in the midst of a Muslim area, they might against their will be divorced from Hindu India. The Depressed Classes feared their fate under a caste Hindu Raj. Congress objected to the equal participation of the States in constitution-making until popular election had been introduced, it objected to the contracting-out clause and even more to Pakistan. In the endeavour to satisfy everybody every party was set by the ears.

THE RIGHT TO SECEDE

To myself the admission of the right to secede appears as a disastrously wrong step, jeopardizing all chance of making India a nation and containing the seed of most dangerous differences for the future. The creation of possibly half a dozen separate Dominions in India, each with its own army

and scheme of defence, probably each with its own tariff barriers, without provision for a central Government that will control All-India interests would carry India back a hundred years in its administrative machinery. No part of the Government Declaration shows less consideration of possible consequences or less appreciation of the fact that India was being set on courses that would undo almost every benefit that we claim to have given in the gradual evolution of British rule.

The mischief is done and cannot now be easily remedied. Upon contracting out will be based a claim for the full recognition of Pakistan, and no convincing answer can be given in denial of that claim. If you concede to provinces the right to Dominion Status, as apart from that status for the whole of India, then those provinces have a right, if they so wish, to federate among themselves. They are independent powers. Pakistan will follow as a matter of course, and Pakistan is the most foolish political device that was ever conceived in the mind of man. A compact Muslim State in Northern India is a conceivable political expedient, but a Muslim State made up of provinces scattered about India and separated by Hindu areas, and with immense minorities within its borders, would lead unavoidably to administrative chaos and very probably to civil war.

No more can it be imagined that the twenty-five millions of Hindus in Bengal would accept the rule of the thirty million Muslims than that the ninety millions of Muslims in all India would be content to be the subjects of a Hindu Raj. For the realization of Pakistan there must be such a shifting of populations and such a migration of peoples as the world has never witnessed. To settle a million and a half Greeks from Asia Minor upon the soil of Greece required years. Forty times that number of people must be transferred and provided with new homes before Pakistan becomes a feasible solution for the Indian problem, and when the exchanges have been completed you will have two States each with its own army, each with its own foreign relations, facing one another upon the soil of India.

BRITISH SELF-ABNEGATION

That is a digression pointing out a danger for the future to which we have given a sanction that cannot well be recalled. There is one other matter of immense consequence implicit in the Government Declaration. Every interest that Great Britain has in India is abandoned. Even the protection of the British as a minority community is to rest on the shaky base of a treaty, and treaties, according to the Eastern tradition, are things that should be changed with changing circumstances. The British representation in the Legislatures must obviously go overboard in any scheme of Dominion Status, while under the plan of proportional representation on the constitution-making body the British cannot hope for more than a single vote and possibly may not obtain that. The British element will, I believe, remain in India and with the goodwill of the Indian peoples, but it will remain without electoral rights, without influence upon Government policy, but always with the privilege of paying the large share of the taxes for which its enterprise, its investments, and its capacity for direction in industry and commerce make it liable.

Never in history has there been given such an example of self-abnegation.

As though the Declaration itself did not make it sufficiently clear that the Englishman was giving up every right that has hitherto been his, Sir Stafford Cripps, in his Press conferences, seemed concerned to emphasize that after the change the Englishman would have no "vested interest"—a term that has no meaning for those who have lived in India. "Vested interests" do not exist. For the future that is now envisaged for India we are stripping ourselves of every vestige of past power and throwing ourselves wholly upon the sense of justice of the Indian people. There is nothing left to surrender, and when we hear foolish talk of the necessity of some new offer we can but respond that we have stripped ourselves to our naked skins.

Every British right has been jettisoned. Even our obligations of honour will rest on the insecure basis of a Treaty made, not with any future Government of India, but, in the words of the Declaration, with "the Constitution-making body"—an assembly called into existence for a specific purpose and designed to disappear as soon as that purpose is accomplished. Never in the history of the world has there been such self-sacrifice and self-denial. Yet one might imagine from the tone of some of Sir Stafford Cripps' public utterances since his return that British rule in India and British development of the resources of the country had been an evil thing, and that in leading forward the Indian people to a position in which the concession of complete and unfettered self-government can be made the British had been engaged in some criminal enterprise.

The Declaration is "on the record." It may have been formally withdrawn, but we can never go back on it. Whether its scheme is to be the pattern for the future government of India depends wholly on Indians themselves. On our part we are down to bedrock. Any further advance must come from the Indian side. The leaders of parties have to work out the solution of difficulties that are entirely their own. One can but say that unless the majority are willing to make concessions, and unless the minorities in their turn will abate their claims, India as a nation is an impossibility, Dominion Status will remain out of the question, and independence be a ridiculous pretence.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association held at the Caxton Hall, S W 1, on Tuesday, May 12, 1942, Sir Alfred Watson opened a discussion by reading a paper on 'The Rejected Plan for India'. Lord ERSKINE, GCSI, GCIE, presided.

The CHAIRMAN said that Sir Alfred Watson put a great many points very well, and personally he agreed with his three main ones. He did not think that the Cripps mission was a failure, he believed it had been a mistake to reserve the question of defence so absolutely in the original draft, and, thirdly, he disliked very much the approach which had been made to the possible division of India into several different parts.

Sir Stafford Cripps's mission was a success in that it had opened the eyes of a great

many foreigners and large numbers of our own people to the fact that the Indian question was not so simple as it seemed. It had also caused much heart-searching in India itself, as it had now become obvious that communal differences alone held up progress. This had had the effect of showing to the world the complete sincerity of the British Government. These were gains which had produced a situation not present before, that there could be no doubt of the purity of British motives.

With regard to the reservation of defence, it must be agreed that it was most difficult for the Government to make any offer at all to India at the present time. Japan was on the doorstep. A world war created conditions in which constitutional planning could not be conducted with much perspicacity, and the Government must have thought many times before they decided that now was the right moment to make a further constitutional offer. Having done so, the Government should have realized that, unless some control of defence was given to an Indian Ministry, no one in India was likely to accept the solution proposed. It was more than difficult to propose a transfer of the machinery of defence in the midst of a great war, but that consideration was covered by the question as to whether it was possible to make an offer at all. The omission enabled certain parties in India to misrepresent the position and to say that the breakdown was due to this one point, whereas, as a matter of fact, it came on something quite different. As soon as Sir Stafford arrived in India he seemed to have realized that an error had been made, for he proceeded immediately to put forward proposals in regard to the defence question which should have satisfied the parties with whom he was negotiating. The speaker thought that those proposals might well have been included in the original declaration.

The third point was the speaker's dislike to the splitting up of India. Britain had given many gifts to India, the greatest being unity and the rule of law. India was a geographical unit bounded by the sea and the Himalayas. There had always been a hankering for unity throughout Indian history, and twice it had been nearly achieved, but it had been left to the British connection with India finally to bring it about. He wondered how many of the millions of Indian people realized the blessings that that unity had brought. No one now living could remember a time when India was not united. Any proposal which might have as its final result the breaking up of the Indian Empire was, in his view, a retrograde step.

He thought that a great number of those who had lately talked lightly of Pakistan had not realized what it really meant, nor the blessings of a general unity. Now it had been made plain that if there could not be common agreement there would very likely be disunity. In his view, very little further progress could be made towards self-government until there was agreement between the great castes and creeds of India. He disliked the word minority as applied to the Muslims. Were the Germans a minority, or the French or Slavs, in Europe? How could a body of 100 million people be called a minority? In the south there were many Muslims, but the bulk were Dravidians whose ancestors had been converted to Islam centuries ago, whereby they had imbibed a different culture and their outlook on life was no longer the same as that of the Hindu stock from which they sprang. The 100 million Muslims had developed a totally different culture from that enjoyed by the Hindus. India was a conglomeration of races and religions.

Other countries had the same problem, for instance, the United States of America included in its citizens every race from Europe and elsewhere, but no one had suggested that on that account the United States should split up. Canada also had a racial problem. He hoped with all his heart that those in charge of the political parties in India would realize before it was too late that there was a grave danger of this split coming. It had been said that there was a danger of civil war, and he believed that if England were to leave India without an agreed solution of the communal problems there was more than a possibility that India would sink back into that chaos from which we rescued her over a hundred years ago.

It was unfashionable to talk of the trusteeship of England for India, but when he remembered seeing the millions of toilers all over India, the bulk of whom had no regard for politics, but merely wished for a good monsoon, just government, and light taxation, he believed that this country could not easily divest itself of its responsibilities. For good or ill, rightly or wrongly, as the result of the actions of our ancestors,

we had become the trustees for the teeming millions of India. All desired that what we now knew as the Indian Empire might become a self-governing, healthy, and wealthy community. It would surely be a most shameful act on the part of any British Government to divest itself supinely of its responsibilities, knowing that by clearing out we were handing India back to chaos. Further, he did not believe that any British Government, no matter what political party was in power, would act in so irresponsible a manner.

We had divested ourselves of any interest in business or politics, we had said to India: "Choose your own constitution, make up your own method of self government, and we will implement it." No better offer than that could be made, but it was essential for any progress that the Indians agreed amongst themselves.

In India he (Lord Erskine) happened to be associated with one of the leaders of the Congress party who was always in favour of a Hindu-Muslim agreement, and while that statesman was Prime Minister of the Madras Presidency he did his best to see that Muslim interests were respected. Mr. Rajagopalachari had recently resigned from the All India Congress Committee—a very brave thing to do, as those who knew India would agree. His view had been that there must be agreement between the great parties before self government could be achieved. All would wish him well in the efforts he had made to that end and the bold step he had taken in an attempt to bring about agreement.

Sir Alfred Watson's paper had been most able, putting the pros and cons of the situation perfectly plainly.

MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE, M.P., said that she would confine herself to a comment on one passage in the paper—the last paragraph, which repeated the note struck in the first, where Sir Alfred Watson said that the Declaration was on the record, it might have been formally withdrawn, but they could never go back on it. Yet in other parts of the paper he showed plainly that he considered that the Declaration contained disastrous elements. He spoke with grave concern of Pakistan, even to the extent envisaged in the Declaration, and also said that the implementation of this and other of the proposals would mean that we were down to bed rock, that we had nothing else to give away.

She wanted to put a question as an amateur to experts. Why had the fact that an offer had been made, under extraordinary circumstances, to prevent the disaster of an attack upon India in which Indians did not take their full share in defence, made it necessary for the offer to stand when it had been repudiated by all those to whom it was made? In other spheres of life, if A made proposals to B, C, and D under peculiar circumstances and they united in nothing else but in flinging back the proposal, A would certainly feel himself free to withdraw the offer and to renew it or not later, as he thought fit. Why should it be otherwise here? That was her question, and she thought the meeting had the right to expect an answer.

Possibly the full reason why these proposals were rejected was not given to Sir Stafford Cripps. Was it possible that Indians felt that the offer made so late included the immediate handing over to Indians of certain functions in which they had no previous experience, and which they therefore shrank from undertaking when India might be on the verge of war, hence that it involved, in one sense, too little, but in another too much, responsibility? She believed that we might live to be glad that the proposals had been rejected.

Mr. HUGH MOLSON, M.P., did not find himself in complete agreement with the Chairman or with Sir Alfred Watson upon the matter of defence. It had been convenient for the people who had no intention of accepting the proposals to use the reservation of defence as a red herring, but he thought it would have been difficult and unwise for the Government to have agreed to anything more in the way of a transfer of responsibility for defence when the enemy appeared to be at the gates of India. If it was the case that Indians felt some apprehension about taking over such great responsibilities at a time when it appeared that disaster was ahead, it could be understood.

Apart from that, he found himself in agreement with Sir Alfred Watson. He

could not see that there was anything substantially new in the Cripps proposals. It was all implied in the offer which was made to India at the Second Round-Table Conference in 1932. There was a Left wing Government in office in this country, and Mr Baldwin, at the risk of alienating a large number of his own supporters, said he would consider it his duty to implement the findings of that Conference. Lord Irwin in India had risked the whole of his career in order that Congress should be represented, he succeeded, and Mr Gandhi was sent as the sole elected representative of Congress. Had Mr Gandhi been able to come to an agreement with the minorities at that Second Round-Table Conference it would have been politically impossible for this country to have refused to implement any such agreement. The Conference broke down because Mr Gandhi was not willing to accept proposals put forward by the minorities, and from that time the Muslim delegation refused to take any part in the work of the major committees.

It had really been the case for the last ten years that (with the possible exception of the rather technical point of secession from the British Empire) Indians, if they had been able to agree among themselves, had been promised responsible government, Dominion Status, and, as far as the speaker could see, what Mr Gandhi called '*purna swaraj*'.

Faced with this deadlock, there seemed to be only one way out the disastrous way of breaking up India into communities. There was nothing more that Britain could offer, other than the disruption of the Indian Empire. It was probably the only step the British Government could take in order to prove to the Indians and to the world that it was not they who were standing in the way of Indian independence.

The speaker thought he understood what Sir Alfred Watson meant when he said that that offer could not be recalled. No political offer could be recalled, but he agreed with Miss Rathbone that he hoped, when the Indian peoples saw what was involved in the break-up of the unity of India, they would realize how immense had been the advantage which India had enjoyed over this poor, war ridden, broken up continent of Europe, and make them realize the value of the unity which Britain had given her. It would be a tragedy if India became a mere geographical expression when Britain ceased to have any political connection with her.

Mr S A K DEHLAVI said that the British Government's Declaration gave the fullest self-determination to the peoples of India, which meant that every Indian community and minority had the full right of assent and dissent in the framing of the Constitution. Sir Stafford had said at Delhi that there was more than one people in the sub-continent of India, and that it was the object of His Majesty's Government to give full self government to the peoples of India, with complete freedom as to how they would devise and organize their own Constitution. That recognized by implication the Pakistan project. The Chairman had said that he would not care for the Indian Empire to be cut into pieces, but the real problem was whether Hindu India was to remain as a single hierarchical State or be parcelled into zones so that the majority of the Muslims could enjoy, in the eastern and western parts of India, legitimate and inherent rights without interference. That was the right of self-determination, already acknowledged by the War Cabinet of the Labour, Liberal, and Conservative leaders in their Declaration. The Muslims looked at it from that point of view.

He would like the Muslims of Malaya, Palestine, and of all dependent and subject countries to be free and independent, it was therefore natural that he should strongly support the independence of the Muslims nearer home. He was not opposed to the aspirations of the Muslims for independent Muslim States, but would Pakistan solve the problem of the minorities in Hindu India where parliamentary institutions would work, and religious oligarchy was bent upon the tyranny of the majority? He had said at a meeting of the Association last July that if the British Government imposed a decision on India there would be bloodshed, the Declaration had acknowledged it. If the British people wished democratic institutions to flourish in India they should never allow caste Hindus to use the parliamentary system as an instrument of political domination over the minorities. The Hindus already enjoyed religious, social, and economic dominance over the Sudra and the Adhi-Sudra. True Christian democrats should never allow such a state of affairs to be accentuated.

Another result of the Declaration was that the British public and the credulous Americans had now learnt the salient features, the intricacies and complexities, of the Indian problem. It was essential that it should be realized that the minorities did count, and India would never have self-government until the rights of the Muslims and other minorities were fully acknowledged.

It was manifest that the Congress leaders, like Hitler, had talked of national demands and liberation, but had never allowed the question of internal problems to be discussed. The Declaration gave a very important hint to Congress that, if they did not concede the rights of minorities, self government would not succeed. Sir Stafford failed to get the support of the Indians for the immediate cause. The speaker emphasized that to every Indian political freedom was quite different from constitutional freedom. The British Government, people, and Parliament could give that freedom. Could not the King, on his birthday, make a declaration, circumventing the recalcitrant Indian parties, that India's freedom would not be delayed, in spite of the constitutional deadlock? A declaration of that kind should be made giving equal political freedom with the Anglo-Saxon race, and then the Indian peoples would feel that they were fighting for something great and dear which their leaders would not agree to achieve.

Miss CATON thought the strongest argument against British rule was its neglect of the Indian States. A few progressive and important States had brought in some kind of representative system, although it was very rudimentary. An excuse always given for not interfering was that Indians liked a personal ruler. That might be true, but it did not eliminate some kind of representative government. It had to be remembered that the population of the States constituted a quarter of the total population. In his speech in the House Sir Stafford Cripps held out a hope that the British Government would hasten representation in the States. Did Sir Alfred Watson think there was any hope of this being done?

SIR EDWARD BENTHALL had hoped to be present, but he had been prevented. He had written to Sir Frank Brown, and the CHAIRMAN read the salient parts of the letter. Sir Edward wrote that Sir Alfred Watson had made a notable contribution to the study of the Indian problem. There are few men whose judgment had been more consistently sound during the various stages of the Indian constitutional development during the last two decades.

With regard to his remarks on the self abnegation of the British, though it might be true on paper that under the Cripps proposals every interest that Great Britain had in India would be abandoned, it would not, he thought, prove true in fact. No voice had been raised throughout the discussions in opposition to the proposals by British business interests. But there was nothing new in this attitude, the non-official business community had for many years consistently stood for assisting India to attain Dominion Status. At the time of the Round Table Conference those interests backed the principle of responsibility at the Centre at a time when one of the great British political parties was wavering. They had consistently tried to make a contribution in the central and provincial legislatures, and if they were not permitted to do so in the future it would cause them regret, but they accepted whole heartedly the principle that India must decide in detail what form of Constitution she required for her happiness and well being.

As regarded their own future, they asked only two assurances—not unreasonable ones—a right to continue to work in India on the same sort of conditions as existed elsewhere in the British Commonwealth, and, if India wished, to take a full part in the work of the legislatures and of administration, and an assurance that India would not be allowed wholly to disintegrate or to fall a prey to the invader just when she seemed to be approaching her goal. They had an interest in India's defence just as vital as that of any Indian.

Apart from business interests, some of them had an innate or an acquired sympathy with India's aspirations to attain the status of a Dominion no less keen than that of most Indians. They had worked for it, and it would therefore be a matter affecting their pride as much as that of Indians if they failed to achieve it in the shortest possible time.

That was why British business interests spontaneously welcomed in their hearts the realism of Mr Rajagopalachari in his approach to the Muslims—not that they believed that Pakistan was the best way of solving the problem, but because the realism of one who was an elder statesman, but a man young in ideas, gave them hope, as it must also do to many of the younger generation of Indians

They were therefore watching developments with the greatest interest, even at a time when the energies of all their men on the spot—and, he might add, all their women—were concentrated on playing their part in the paramount duty of India's defence.

SIR WILLIAM BARTON believed that England was paying about five-sixths of the cost of India's defence, and one might possibly argue that it was unreasonable to place the responsibility for spending that money entirely in Indian hands. Sir Stafford Cripps' concern for the underdog was well known, but the speaker wondered whether he realized that if his mission had been a success his dream of a better world in India would not have been realized. For if an agreement had been patched up between the Muslims and Hindus it was certain that a Hindu oligarchy would have ruled India.

The problem of India was the problem of poverty, economic nationalism was the gospel of the Hindu oligarchy, put into effect it would intensify the poverty of the countryside, which was the one thing to be got rid of if India was to be happy and prosperous. Nehru had described in vivid terms the exploitation of the peasantry by the high castes and by the money lenders. Unless something was done to lift the £1,000 million debt from the countryside, political reforms in India would have no effect, the result would be clashes between town and countryside.

How was the danger to be met? He agreed with Miss Rathbone that Great Britain was no longer bound by the Cripps Declaration. We should make a new approach on economic lines. Why not make a bold promise of economic reform? Why not take India into economic and political partnership with Britain on completely equal terms? Congress would view such an offer with derision, but Congress was only a political caucus, and anyhow it looked very much as if it intended to commit political *hara kiri*. What was the authentic voice of India? Did one hear echoes of it in the thousands of villages which had sent nearly 1½ millions of their sons to fight for the Empire? Was it the voice of the thousands of the young intelligentsia who were sharing the leadership of India's new armies with young Britons? The 100 million Muslims did not wish us to leave India. The Princes were loyal, they wished us to stay, the 60 million outcastes implored us not to go. Did big business want us to go? Not at all. He believed big business would welcome a partnership of the kind he suggested, especially if, it was made clear that British dominance would have disappeared for ever.

Another point might be mentioned. The speaker did not entirely agree with Sir Alfred Watson or the Chairman on the question of Muslim separatism, he thought the Hindu politician would have to accept it in principle. What the Hindu dreaded, once it was accomplished, was that the Muslims would link up with Afghanistan and beyond and establish a Muslim empire in North India. The only real guarantee against that was a British partnership.

The position he had attempted to describe seemed to suggest that Indian opinion might welcome an offer of the kind he had put forward. In the political field one felt that British industrialists and financiers would be ready to help in the development of new industries, but it was no use developing Indian industries unless the purchasing power of the countryside was doubled or trebled. To do this he suggested that British and Indian financiers should combine to help lift the burden of debt on the villages, to help develop agriculture, to encourage the Indian to grow more money crops, develop markets, and eliminate the middle man. Something might be done to develop cottage industries, the possibility of taking certain processes in industry into the villages, as in Japan, thereby avoiding slums in the large cities, was worth considering, especially where cheap electric power could be made available. With prosperity in India, employment would be found for the intelligentsia, the economic misery of that group was one of the causes of India's political troubles.

Finally, political leaders in India would have to recognize that democracy on the

British model was not yet possible. The villages needed an electoral system which would reflect rural opinion, with regard to the British position, it should be possible to give British interests adequate representation in the Central Assembly in a manner consistent with responsibility.

Mr R A WILSON said that Sir Alfred and the Chairman dwelt on the gains which had been derived from Sir Stafford Cripps' visit to India, one being that our honest intentions had been made clear to the world. But another result was that Congress had been discredited to a very great extent. He said this with regret because he had many friends in Congress, and had often admired their wonderful organization. During the last five years they had gone far to forfeit his respect, and now it had gone completely. The central caucus had behaved badly, their democracy was a mockery, and latterly their proceedings had been surrounded by an air of unreality. Now, when faced with the possibility of the responsibility of assisting to administer the affairs of India, Congress had run away. Mr Rajagopalachari had called upon India to forget the Congress organization, and if only his advice was heeded there might be some hope for the future of India.

SIR ALFRED WATSON, in reply, welcomed Miss Rathbone's charge that he was guilty of some inconsistencies. She asked why the Declaration should be regarded as still standing on the record after it had been repudiated. His answer was "That is our way." In the past practically every offer made to India had been rejected, but had proved to be the starting point for some new offer. Mr Molson made the right reply in saying that political offers we made were seldom withdrawn.

Mr Molson suggested that Sir Stafford Cripps had the scheme for an Indian Defence Minister up his sleeve, but the speaker rather doubted that. The second defence scheme was probably devised as hurriedly as the first Declaration. He agreed with Mr Molson's final point that in making an offer that might lead to the disruption of India the Government hoped that that might lead to such consideration of the terrible future which awaited India under disruption as to bring a change of mind. Unfortunately, with the exception of the ex Premier of Madras the leaders of India did not seem to have realized what disruption would mean. It would almost certainly mean civil war throughout the whole country. Mr Dehlavi suggested that the deadlock might be solved by a declaration, made by the King, giving political freedom. Freedom was not something which could be conferred by a declaration, it required a Constitution. India had been offered the chance of making a Constitution such as would give her the full freedom she wanted.

Miss Caton suggested we should interfere more in the Indian States at the very moment we were giving up the right to interfere at all. The Government of India would not only be willing to expedite representative institutions in the States, it had for a generation past been urging that change upon the States. Advances in that direction had been made in some of the larger States. They could not do more, it was one of the things left to the Indian people in the framing of their own Constitution. They had to decide on what terms the States came in, and the States had to decide what measure of electoral rights they would give to their subjects.

He agreed with Mr Wilson that Congress had run away from the situation in India and that nearly all the objections raised to Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals were due to the fact that Congress feared in its heart of hearts the consequences of taking over power in India. It insisted that the power should be in its hands, it feared that in its hands India would be in revolt.

SIR HASSAN SUHRAWARDY proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, Lord Erskine, who had so ably conducted the meeting and with such remarkable perspicuity set out his facts in his lucid speech. It was always a pleasure to hear his old friend Sir Alfred Watson. He had marshalled his ideas in his usual able manner.

SIR HENRY LAWRENCE wrote that the great stumbling-block to Indian public leaders was their lack of acquaintance with foreign countries.

What India needed most was guidance from her own leaders, based on a study of

the administrative methods of other countries. That study and the conclusions they drew from it must be entirely their own, for, as Sir Stafford Cripps found, distrust was rife. To overcome this distrust no expense should be spared, nor should the Government be fettered by precedents.

A Royal Commission should be appointed representative of all parties and interests in India, and be equipped with an able secretariat wholly Indian. The war must necessarily restrict their movements, but there were enough countries in which movement was practicable to give them an immense amount of varied experience—South America, parts of China and Siberia, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey. They might be distrustful of the British Commonwealth, but their enquiries would not be complete without a visit to the United States and a consultation with the Allied Nations, whose Governments are established in London.

Let them take their time and go where they would, and we might be confident that the reports they brought back would do much to dispel prevalent suspicions and convince their countrymen of the good faith of the recent offer of the British Government and of the recognition by other nations of the privilege of membership of the British Commonwealth. In daily intercourse for many months men of ability and integrity would find the right path to the safety and honour of India.

BURMA

By SIR HENRY CRAW, K B E , C I E

BURMA has been the scene of a desperate struggle between British forces, assisted by strong contingents of the Chinese Army, and the armies of Japan. We may be certain that the final result will be in our favour, but it is impossible to forecast how this stage will end. The scanty information which comes through also makes it difficult to form a definite opinion why the Japanese progress in Burma should have been so rapid, although General Wavell last month told us the general reasons—namely, that the country was difficult and that reinforcements were too few, arrived too late, and were insufficiently trained. We have also been told by various high authorities that the supply of men and equipment of all kinds was inadequate to meet the demand, and that the Far East in general and Burma in particular had to go short in order that more immediately essential requirements should be met. I am not qualified to assume the rôle of a military critic nor, if I wanted to do so, would my official position permit. I have, however, been asked many questions as to the size and composition of the Burma Army, the nature of the country through which the fighting has taken place, and the attitude of the people towards the British Government, and on these points I have thought it might be of interest to the members of the East India Association to obtain some information.

Members have had the privilege of hearing two papers on Burma by ex-officials—the first by Mr F. Burton Leach on communications, and the second by Sir Archibald Cochrane on Burma's preparations for war. These lectures provided a background of information about a country otherwise

little known in England, and I propose to try to provide more detail to elucidate questions which have arisen since the papers were read

THE ARMY IN BURMA

As soon as the danger of a Japanese attack on Burma became apparent, efforts were made, as Sir Archibald Cochrane explained, to increase the strength of the Burma Army. Existing units were expanded and new regular units formed, the Territorial battalions were increased and the Auxiliary, or Volunteer, battalions were embodied and enlarged. Nevertheless, it was understood from the earliest stages that, if an emergency such as invasion by a foreign Power were to arise, Burma could not be self-sufficient, but must rely on extraneous assistance. Even with the reinforcements received from India half of Burma has fallen into Japanese hands, and now with Chinese help we are struggling to hold the other half.

Burma has a population of over 14 millions, and questions are asked why more use has not been made of her man-power. A modern military force is an expensive thing to equip and to maintain, and in every country, and especially in one with limited financial resources, the strength of the army tends to be kept down to the minimum necessary to deal with dangers which can be foreseen. To understand Burma's policy in this respect a brief glance at her geographical position and her history is necessary. Geographically Burma consists of the wide valley of the Irrawaddy, and to this is added in the south the narrower valley of the Salween. To the north lies the Tibetan plateau, and from it high ranges of mountains stretch southwards, separating Burma from Assam on the west and from China and Siam on the east. These ranges are inhabited in the north by Kachins and in the west by Chins, warlike tribes who have until recent days maintained their independence and have always been hostile to the peoples of the plains. On the east, separating the plains of Burma from Yunnan, lies the Shan plateau, and south of it the thickly wooded hills of the Karen tribes shut Burma off from Siam. Communications through these hill ranges were until the last ten years practically non-existent, and the inhabitants of the countries beyond the ranges were on the whole friendly and unlikely to undertake hostile action against her. This geographical isolation was one of the main factors in fixing the strength of a Burma Army.

From the historical point of view, the size of the Burma Army was to a large extent conditioned by the unrest which followed the abdication of King Thibaw and the occupation of Upper Burma. Dacoity by large gangs was rife in Upper Burma and strong regular and irregular forces were required to restore order. Eventually these forces were stabilized, and at the beginning of the present century Burma's garrison consisted of four British and seven Indian battalions plus ten battalions of Military Police, the latter being a civil force mainly occupied with guard and patrol duties and the preservation of order among the frontier tribes. It will be remembered that Burma was still a province of India and that the regular troops were part of the Indian Army, and as Burma's internal administration became more settled the Indian Government gradually reduced its force in Burma till at the beginning of the war in 1914 there were only two British and

four Indian battalions with one mountain battery and one company of sappers, this last being the only indigenous unit of the Army

The 1914-18 war brought important changes. The Indian battalions were withdrawn for service elsewhere, and in their stead three regular battalions and a training battalion were recruited from indigenous sources and were named the 70th Burma Rifles. There were still, however, in Burma two British battalions and one Indian battalion and the mountain battery, while one of the 70th battalions was sent to Malaya to complete the garrison there

THE COMPOSITION OF THE ARMY

Thus, although the last war made little change in the strength of the Burma Army, it made a revolutionary alteration in its composition. From being an Indian Army of Occupation it became in effect a Burma Defence Force within the Indian Army. Up till the time of separation in 1937 there was little change in the strength of the Army, but, again, another most important alteration in composition was made. In 1923, after consultation with local military authorities, Army headquarters in India decided that Burmese, as distinct from other indigenous races of Burma, were unsuitable for military employment and ordered their disbandment, while retaining in the Army the Karens, Chins, and Kachins. During the 1914-18 war none of the battalions of the 70th Burma Rifles reached the firing line, though one of them saw service during the Moplah rebellion and was, I believe, well reported on. The only Burman unit (and it was mainly composed of Burmese) which came seriously under fire was the sapper company in Mesopotamia where, I believe, it earned favourable comment.

The fighting capacity of the Burmese was therefore not the quality on which the decision was based, but rather their conduct in barracks in peacetime. In this respect they certainly had an unenviable reputation, desertion was common, and absence without leave, breaking of bounds, and improper disposal of kit were only too frequent. It is difficult to blame the Indian authorities for the step they took, they were reducing the Army to a peace-time footing and economy dictated the retention of those who were likely to make the best soldiers. Separation of Burma and India was not even suggested at the time. But there can be no doubt that this decision gave rise to great difficulties when separation did come, and may be to a certain extent responsible for the unsatisfactory conduct of the Burmese who were lately recruited to the Army. In any case, after 1923 practically no Burman remained in the Army except in the sapper company, and even that company fell a victim to the pruning-knife of the retrenchment committees of the early thirties.

Thus, in 1935, when the Government of Burma Act was passed, the Burma Army had no Burmese in it. Whether Burmese were suited to army life or not, Burmese politicians were clamouring for their enlistment, and it was clearly a political impossibility to refuse to meet the demand. Even before separation, steps were taken to train a Burmese sapper company, and Burmese were also recruited for a special training cadre which was intended to provide Burman officers and NCOs for new Burmese companies in the existing units. There were doubts among military officers

of the wisdom of the step in view of past history, and they rightly insisted that progress should be slow at first, but this slowness irritated the politicians and possibly prejudiced the result. The whole situation was one of extreme difficulty.

At the time of separation the question of the size of the Army again came under review, and it was decided that there should be only four battalions of the Burma Rifles. It was thought that this force, with two British battalions, was all that was necessary for internal purposes unless there was another major rebellion such as occurred in 1931, and in such a case Burma would have to apply to India for aid. In the case of attack by a foreign Power, Imperial aid would be essential. This may appear an inadequate force for a separated Burma, but the financial consequences of separation were far from clear and it was considered impossible to undertake any expansion then.

THE PRESENT WAR

In 1939, however, the outbreak of the European war and the hostile attitude of Japan forced on the Burma Government a reconsideration of the whole question. The Army had to be increased, and the only question was where the men and the officers were to come from. The Chins and Kachins were eager to come in, but these tribes are not numerous and recruits up to standard were scarce. Burmese ministers clamoured for a rapid increase of Burmese, and, though the Army authorities were now willing to take them, the intake could only be slow as commissioned officers and N C O s were few. However, an attempt was made to recruit more Burmese, and the Burmese Counsellor, the Propaganda Officer, and some of the Ministers went out to get them to come in. Results were not commensurate with efforts, and there can be no doubt that the flow of recruits was smaller than anyone expected. The Ministers might protest that a Burmese Army must consist of a majority of Burmese, but the Burmese themselves showed no real keenness to enlist in the numbers required.

I have referred to the decision of 1923 to stop recruitment of Burmese, and the comparative failure of 1939 might be looked on as a confirmation of the correctness of that view, but, in my opinion, there is another side to the question. As I see it, there are three main difficulties in the way of Burmese recruiting. In the first place, the Buddhist religion, which all Burmese profess, condemns the taking of life in any form. A good Buddhist would not kill a mosquito that bit him. A fisherman or a hunter, whose business involves the taking of life, is outside the pale. Burmese do take life—witness the murder statistics of the country—but the career of a professional soldier would not entitle a man to a high status in society, and good Buddhists would dissuade their sons from adopting it.

In the second place, army rates of pay were fixed on an Indian basis, but the Burmese are more extravagant than Indians, and a salary which would attract the Indian sepoy is too low to draw the Burmese. Thirdly, and possibly most important of the three, the Burmese are quick in picking up new trades but are impatient of discipline and routine. The strictness and regularity of army life is therefore not entirely congenial. These diffi-

culties in the way of the formation of a Burmese Army were no doubt formidable, but the Burmese are a proud race with strong national ambitions. Most of their leaders realized, I think, that Japanese domination would be more detrimental to their national aspirations than British rule, and their influence would, I believe, have been sufficient to overcome the difficulties if there had been a tradition of recruitment and a Burmese unit ready to receive them. There were certainly associations, such as the Communist Thakin party, which were anti-British, and which apparently were deceived by Japan's promise of self-government, but it is probable that the majority of the Burmese would side, and do side, with us.

I think I have said enough to show that the expansion of the Army between 1939-41 presented no easy problem. I may add, however, that apart from the regular army, there was a great increase in the volunteer forces. The Territorials increased from one to four battalions, two of which came from the Shan States. The auxiliary forces were opened to all races and undertook such duties as the examination battery, anti-aircraft defences, harbour patrols and the manning of mine-sweepers, as well as providing anti-sabotage guards at the oil refineries and other vital points. There have been charges against Europeans in the East of slackness, but my experience in Burma is that there, at least, they were not deserved. The younger men of all classes came forward freely for service both in the auxiliary and the regular forces.

THE TERRAIN OF WAR

I shall now turn to the task which the Government and the Army had to face in 1941, and in this connection I propose to try to give you a rough picture of the country over which the troops had to operate. Siam and French Indo-China were in Japanese hands and, instead of friendly neighbours, the enemy was on our frontier for 800 miles. Throughout its length this frontier consists of heavily wooded hills with few approach roads and no lateral communications. The G.O.C. had at his disposal the Army in Burma, as described, together with comparatively small Indian reinforcements, and clearly no continuous defence line was possible. He could only guess the probable line of attack and arrange his defences accordingly. There would appear to be two possible lines—one to the north through the Shan States to cut the China Road, and the other in the central and southern section with Rangoon as its ultimate object. The southern attack would also serve the purpose of cutting air communication between India and Malaya.

If the Japanese attacked in the north their communications would be provided for by the railway from Bangkok to Chiangmai, with a good metalled road to the frontier through Chiangrai and another possible road further west. In the south the Japanese approach to the frontier would be more difficult. East of Moulmein a motor road connected the Siamese railway to Tak, but from there to Mehsod on our frontier there was only a pack road. East of Tavoy a motor road joined the railway to Kanchanburi, but again fifty miles of pack road would separate their forces from the frontier. From each of these towns (Moulmein and Tavoy) a road on our side runs towards the frontier, but the Dawna Hills behind Moulmain

and the Upper Tenasserim valley behind Tavoy seemed to provide good defence lines. Behind Mergui there is also a pack road into Siam, but again the country is difficult. There are numerous other village paths in the hills, but neither the roads I have mentioned nor these tracks would appear promising for the approach of a large, well-equipped army. It was known that the Siamese had lately been at work on these approach roads, but owing to stringent immigration measures in that country information as to progress was meagre.

On the whole the probabilities, in view of relative transport facilities, seemed in favour of a northern attack, and our main troop concentrations before the war began were on that line. Naval events in the Pacific when Japan entered the lists, and the rapid taking of Manila and Singapore, may have caused alterations in our arrangements. They may also have caused Japan to select the southern line of attack, and, in spite of the difficulties of transport, they were able to bring through a sufficient number of troops to make our long, attenuated line untenable. In the hilly, heavily wooded country of the peninsula, where air reconnaissance would be of little value, they were apparently able to outflank our isolated posts and force a retirement on the Salween line.

THE FALL OF RANGOON

On this line also the country is hilly and jungle-covered in the main, and again air reconnaissance must have been difficult. The loss of Moulmein must also have enabled the Japanese to bring up reinforcements by sea, possibly from Penang. Resistance was much stiffer, but after some weeks of fighting we found ourselves forced back through the jungle to the Sittang. Here again there was a stand, but possibly the fact that the British troops were in the open paddy fields while the enemy could move through the jungle under cover helped the Japanese, and after a short time they succeeded in getting troops across the narrow paddy plains of the Sittang valley and into the Yoma foothills in our rear. The Sittang valley contains both the main road and the railway line to the north, and with the Japanese blocking these roads and infiltrating into the Yoma jungles the position of the Pegu army and the troops in Rangoon looked serious. This, together with the fact that approach by sea to Rangoon was now precarious, probably necessitated the withdrawal from Rangoon.

After the fall of Rangoon the defence of Upper Burma divides itself into two fronts—the Irrawaddy valley and the road and railway to Prome on the west of the Yomas, and the Sittang valley on the east. Between these two valleys lie the Pegu Yomas, with an average width of about 70 miles. The central ridge is fairly high with peaks over 3,000 feet, but most of the country would present few difficulties to Japanese infiltration. The range continues north to about the line between Magwe and Yamethin, and up to that point there are no lateral roads, the only crossing being the railway line from Pinyinmana to Taung-dwin-gyi. North of this line, however, the country is open with low, scrub-covered ridges. It is very dry—the annual rainfall being only about 25 inches—and can be crossed at any season of the year. Village roads are numerous and there are also several metalled roads crossing from east to west south of Mandalay.

This brief sketch of the country will, I hope, help you to understand the difficulties the troops have had to contend with in the past and may have to meet in the future

ROAD COMMUNICATIONS

It may also be of interest to mention the land communications between Burma and her friendly neighbours. With China the only line of communication still is the Yunnan-Burma road, which was described in Mr Leach's paper. I need say little about it except to mention that it was inspected by American transport experts last June, and, as a result, both men and materials were sent out to improve the surface and to raise the standard of efficiency of the rolling-stock. It is possible that the war in the Pacific may impede the carrying-out of these plans, but I have no doubt that much has already been done to raise the carrying capacity of the road. With good organization this road could carry far more than the 20,000 tons a month which was crossing the Burma frontier last year. The difficulty, however, will be to get the cargoes on to the road rather than to get them from Lashio to Kunming. For that purpose a road to India is required, and its construction unfortunately will take time. A road is already being made and should be almost open for traffic through Manipur to the Chindwin river, but even when it is metalled throughout it will not suffice to carry all the supplies for the Burma forces and those required by China. For her own use China wants a road from Ledo through Northern Burma into China, but the engineering difficulties within China are almost prohibitive. A less difficult route will be from Ledo south through the Hukawng valley and thence on to China, and I understand a start is being made on its construction. In the meantime it looks as if China would have to depend largely on air-borne supplies, and to this purpose has, I understand, obtained a number of long-distance freight planes from America.

In this connection the question may be asked why Burma has never had a road connection with India. Such a road could only have been built as a strategic road, as sea freights would always be lower than the charges by land. The road project has often been discussed and the possible routes have been surveyed, but the money for the construction has never been found. Before separation, India apparently did not think the scheme an urgent one, and since separation, Burma's finances were inadequate, and also the Ministers, who fear Indian immigration, would never agree to the construction of a land route which would increase the difficulty of checking or controlling that immigration. The result is that when the need for the road did arise no road existed.

THAKIN FIFTH COLUMNISTS

Before I close this paper I should like to mention briefly a subject which has been stressed in the Press—namely, the assistance given to the Japanese by Burmese. This is a painful subject for those of us who have spent our lives in Burma and who have many friends in Burma. I should, however, like to ask everyone to suspend judgment till information is fuller. We know that some members of the Thakin Association have gone in with the Japanese and have acted as guides, these associations were known to be

anti-British, but their following was not very large. We know also that in Tharawaddy and Prome large bands of Burmese are working with the Japanese. This is the centre of the 1931 rebellion and many of the people who inhabit the area are ready for any kind of trouble. Generally what they want is loot and it does not matter to them whom they loot. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the bulk of public opinion is in our favour. Things are going against us and the unarmed villagers may be unwilling to risk their lives by overt action for us, but I am certain that they will do no more than they have to for the Japanese and that they will welcome us back when the tide turns. Their politicians want a national government, but the villager wants a quiet life, and he will soon find that his best chance of that is under the protection of the British Empire.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, April 29, 1942, with Major-General the Right Hon. Sir FREDERICK STOKES in the chair, when Sir Henry Craw, K B E, C I E, read a paper on 'Burma'.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said that it must be extraordinarily difficult at such a time to talk on Burma. Sir Henry Craw was Chief Secretary, Burma, from 1934 to 1937, and was then Councillor to the Governor of Burma for three years from 1939 to 1941, so that there could be no one better qualified to speak about Burma at the present time. He would explain a good many things in an objective manner and give the background of the war in that country. It was difficult to get a clear perspective of the happenings there, but at all events the Japanese were not having too easy a time, and the opposition was very considerable. The difficulties of fighting for European troops must be immense.

After the lecture the CHAIRMAN said that, in addition to being informative, Sir Henry Craw had brought out aspects which probably not all had realized in regard to the Burma situation. For instance, he personally was not aware until recently that it was possible to get by motor road from India to Burma, but apparently there had been tracks and the possibility of getting traffic through for some time. Could Sir Henry give a little more information in regard to that road, as to the distance which had to be more or less constructed *ab initio*, and what there was now in being?

In view of the fact that communications were so vital, he would also like to know a little more with regard to communications, other than the Burma Road, to China. He understood there was a second road, but how good was it? Could it take a large burden of traffic from India to China in the event of the whole of Burma being overrun?

There had been some wishful thinking about the rains, but the lecturer had dashed hopes in this direction, it was important to realize the facts. The lecturer said that the rains broke about May 15, but that the present operations were now too far to the north to be affected seriously. Sir Henry also touched on the difficulty of air reconnaissance in a jungle-covered country, and the speaker was also interested in the difference between the Burmese and the Burmans, which had been explained. This was an important point to remember in any discussion with regard to the army in Burma.

The army under General Alexander, and the Governor, had done splendid work. The Indian troops had held their positions with the utmost bravery and stemmed the tide which was flowing so strongly. If reinforcements could be brought into

being sufficiently quickly, the position would be steadied, and that was what they hoped for

They were grateful to the lecturer for helping them to get the picture into better perspective. The whole situation in Burma was revolutionized when France surrendered Indo-China, and Siam, Hong-Kong, Singapore, and Pearl Harbour fell or were put out of action

He thanked the lecturer very cordially for his intensely interesting talk

Dr LIANG YUEN LI (First Secretary, Chinese Embassy) said that the subject of Burma was vitally connected with both India and China, and the lecturer had given a masterly exposition of a very complicated situation which was obscure, not only to people living in distant parts, but also to the Chinese, who were the neighbours of the Burmans or Burmese. China attached great importance to Burma, not only on strategic grounds, but also as a neighbour who had afforded to China vital facilities in communication and transport during the years when China was struggling against aggression

He wished to draw attention not only to the world known Burma Road which had been the life line of China, but also to the efforts of the Chinese and Burmese authorities to supplement the Burma Road by a new Yunnan Burma railway, which, with the support of the American Government, had been in the course of construction and was nearing its completion when it had to be abandoned because of the Japanese push northwards from Malaya. China's vital link with Burma was not only confined to the life line of communication, but in the wider sense that now China was a member of the United Nations the defence of Burma was considered as the defence of China itself. The relations of Burma and China, if he might use a Chinese simile, were those of the lip and the teeth. For this reason China was more than pleased to be able to send her troops to Burma. The Chinese Generalissimo paid a visit to Burma and had a conference with General Wavell.

Although the task of military collaboration under the stress of the moment might be a very difficult one, yet it was not too much to hope that the Chinese British collaboration in Burma would stand out in history as a fine example of strategical co-operation for the defence of a common cause. The fact could not be concealed that the situation in Burma was very serious, and they had also to expect that more blows would befall the Allies, in spite of the coming rainy season, but it was as well to see things as a whole, and the authorities were convinced that by marshalling the forces of the United Nations and by wise and generous collaboration of military policies they might contribute to hastening the day when the tide would turn, and, with the co-operation of the large body of Indian people so warmly promised by their leaders, the problem of the lost territories would be finally solved as part of the eventual triumph of the forces of the United Nations over Japanese aggression.

General Sir JOHN SHEA said that in 1923 he was sent by the Commander-in-Chief in India, as Adjutant-General, to investigate the question of whether the Burmese should be retained in the Army, and after consultation with the military authorities in Burma it was decided that it would be advisable to discharge the Burmese and compose the Army, as far as recruits from Burma were concerned, of Chins, Kachins, and Karens. The late Sir Harcourt Butler, who was then Governor, demurred on political grounds, and questioned whether it was wise politically to take this action, however unsuitable the Burmans might be as soldiers, but he gave way to military opinion.

He had visited Burma three times, and before he went there the first time Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, who was Private Secretary to the Viceroy at the time and later Governor of the Punjab, said to him "You have had twenty years on the north west frontier, and when you go to Burma have a look at the north-east frontier." The speaker went along the frontier and studied the position. He candidly confessed that he studied it entirely from the Chinese point of view, and not from the Japanese, and it seemed to him that good communications were needed from the interior of Burma to the Chinese frontier, and also good communications from India to Burma. After he became Adjutant-General in India he was given command of the eastern

area, and immediately went into the question of communications between India and Burma, first visiting Imphal in Manipur State, Assam, and studied the possibilities of a road from there to Mandalay. It was only sixty miles to the border from Imphal, and the country was not difficult. It was surveyed three times, and the cost of the road was estimated at £6 million, but the Government of India would not face this expenditure.

The speaker, being interested in the question of another road to Burma, went up to the head of the Brahmaputra Valley in North Eastern Assam and studied the possibilities of a road from Sadiya, which was in the corner looking towards China and Burma, to Myitkyina, the most important northern town in Burma. The country was very difficult, and the question of a road was not taken seriously.

Mr J K MICHIE was very glad that Sir Henry Craw had been able to say a few words in support of that somewhat sorely tried and abused community, the British in Burma. Sir Henry had mentioned military service and the younger men, but he was sure he would agree that every male European had willingly put himself at the disposal of the Government of Burma in these trying times, and when the 'blitz' did come to Rangoon the most devoted service was given by all non-official Europeans, women as well as men, in A R P, nursing, ambulance driving, bomb disposal, and so on. As the public services had completely broken down, these duties entailed services from which many would shrink, even in a cold climate.

He must pay a tribute to the Europeans and defend their good name, whether official or non-official, whether fighting, assisting the Government to carry on essential services, or 'scorching the earth,' which meant destroying their capital. The campaign which had been sponsored in certain sections of the Press, describing the Europeans as 'idle parasites and profligates' was very unjust and harmful to the future of the Commonwealth. He would like to make a comparison, which would show the difference between now and the old days.

Sir Henry and himself went to Burma in 1907 when the I C S were the benevolent rulers of the country, when business had no concern with politics, when attaining a commissionership meant comfort as well as position, and a pension of £1,000 a year did not necessarily mean three halfpenny buses. In commerce they looked forward to twenty five years of hard work, harder than almost anyone worked at home, and thereafter to being able to go on working or not as they chose. Both Sir Henry and himself, he was sure, were actuated by no mean motives, and rather liked to be looked upon as empire builders. Coming to modern times, he could not speak for Malaya, but he knew something of the lives of Europeans in India and Burma. Admittedly there were black sheep, but, taken altogether, in habit and outlook they were quite different from the pictures some of the papers had painted. The easiest means of refuting these stories was to mention facts which could be verified.

In peace time the European staff of his own company were bound to pass the higher standard examination in the Burmese language, which meant being able to read, write, and speak it fluently. Those living in the ports had also to pass an examination in Hindustani, so that it could not be said they were unable to converse with and understand the peoples of the countries in which they were living. Accusations had been made that firms only used employees for what they could get out of them. That, too, was demonstrably untrue, for, apart from special and very magnificent benefactions to education such as the Burmah Oil Company had made, he knew of no large European employer in Burma who was not progressive and who did not provide medical care, social facilities, sports clubs, and even schools for their employees and their families, besides pension and benevolent funds. Steel Brothers even claimed to have brought literacy to one of Burma's valleys now in Japanese hands.

Employees of the firm were encouraged to enter politics, and at no time since the new Constitution had his company had fewer than two senior managers in the Legislature and one serving on the Rangoon Corporation. The European group in Burma wisely kept out of the game of Cabinet making and breaking, but they contributed much in committee and debate to constructive measures and a sound financial policy. All that involved patience and time and, too, a certain devotion to a cause, and, while there were questions on which he freely admitted their community

could be criticized, he maintained that the general standard of behaviour, work, and service, whether in pre-war times or now when almost all their staffs were in the Forces, assisting the civil authorities, helping to build the northern road," or shepherding destitute Indians over the roads to India, was one that bore close scrutiny, and that their countrymen and women did not deserve the criticisms which certain writers had made

Sir LOUIS DANE congratulated Sir Henry Craw on a most interesting and instructive paper. He had brought out very clearly the steps which had been taken to try to secure the defence of Burma and the difficulties which arose.

The speaker ventured to think that to find the real cause for the present state of affairs in Burma they must go a little further back and see what happened in India. There also was an outcry for self government, which was justified so long as it could be introduced with a reasonable chance of the security and integrity of the country, and the welfare of the citizens was ensured. This was not always obtainable by self-government, although that was the ultimate desire of everybody who had a will to call his own.

One of the reasons why Burma was separated from India in 1935 was that it was considered not sufficiently advanced politically to be able to exercise the political rights which it was the intention of the Government to confer upon India. Burma was separated, with a Governor of its own, and a Constitution of its own, and it very soon became evident that the Burmans were not sufficiently educated politically to be able to work that Constitution with any success. The first Premier was imprisoned, the present Premier had been placed under arrest on the ground that he was believed to be intriguing with the Axis Powers. Those facts gave an idea of the extreme danger of trusting politicians with schemes of government which they were not at present competent to work. This warning should be remembered in dealing with India also.

Four years ago a prominent officer spoke publicly and said that the new Constitution had been a benefit to Burma in every way and was working satisfactorily. One great advantage was that Burma had been set free from the heavy contribution to Indian military expenditure. He (the speaker) ventured to ask him what it was proposed to do about the defence of Burma. The officer replied that there was not likely to be any risk of attack from without on Burma, which had a land frontier of some 800 miles, and had as neighbours on the east one, and probably two, of the most actively acquisitive nations in the East. This attitude of mind must have conducted largely to the neglect of the Government of Burma to secure the country from attack from without. It was a pity that no attention was paid to this warning. Even at that time the intentions of Japan were becoming apparent to anybody who studied Eastern politics, as it was understood that Burma only had some three or four bodies of military police recruited from the Chins, Kachins, and Karens.

Sir ERNEST HODSON was sorry that General Shea had had to leave, because his point was relevant to something he had said. As far back as 1912 there were schemes for making a road from India into Burma and another road from Burma towards China, but it was not at a later date, as General Shea suggested, the penurious Government of India that stopped the work, but the Army Department, who said:

What on earth do we want with a road? It is far easier to send the men by sea, and, as for a road into China, there has been a revolution, and we do not know what they will do!

The lecturer had given a very clear description of the geography of the country up to the limits of the oilfields, and then he said that there were only a very few aerodromes left in our possession. Some other countries had shown very great aptitude in building new aerodromes very rapidly in unlikely country. Could the lecturer say whether there were any places on which aerodromes could be made for fighters, at all events, or whether there were aerodromes on the Indian side of the frontier which could be made use of to assist the troops in Northern Burma?

Mr A. H. BYRT said that Sir Louis Dane had recalled to his mind asking a

distinguished soldier in India if he might have a chat with him about the north-eastern frontier of India. The soldier said there was no need to discuss that question, there was no north-eastern frontier, the country was such that it was a complete barrier to any sort of movement either way.

The CHAIRMAN announced that Dr Liang Yuen Li had to leave at this point. He had helped them to understand the position from the Chinese angle very much more clearly. He asked Dr Liang to accept from the meeting an expression of deep gratitude for his help in this discussion.

SIR HENRY CRAW, in reply, said that the Chairman had asked regarding a road to India. Sir John Shea had mentioned that he had recommended the construction of a road from Imphal down to Mandalay, and that the proposal was turned down on financial grounds. Six million pounds might be quite a small sum in war-time, but it was quite considerable in peace, and if it had to be produced by the Government of India or of Burma it would make every politician think. The road he referred to was the one now being constructed, there was a low pass from the India side, with forty-five miles of pack road, and he understood that a motor-car had once been brought through that way. It could easily be converted into a motor road. From Tammu southwards there were ninety miles of old cart road, the Chindwin River was navigable but not easy, in dry weather only shallow-draught steamers could travel up it, and a road to the railway had been proposed about seventy to eighty miles north of Mandalay. There would not be any serious engineering difficulties, but a considerable expenditure of money.

The Chairman also asked about a road to China. The main entrance on the Burma side to China was from Lashio almost due north to the frontier. This was a tarred and metalled first-class road, one could travel at sixty miles an hour along it except where it rose almost sheer in places in zigzags. The second entrance to China was from Bhamo on the Irrawaddy, by a link road which joined the main road near the frontier. It was narrow and for forty miles was a one-way road. It was now being tarred and metalled. It was expected that something like 10,000 tons of supplies would go along that road every month, in addition to the material going up through Lashio.

The Chairman also spoke of the difficulties the rains would cause. Most people thought of malaria in connection with Burma. Malaria was not very common in the dry zone or in the open plains, but it was prevalent wherever the foothills abutted on the plains. There was no question that the Japanese, after the beginning of June, would find themselves subjected to very serious difficulties owing to malaria, particularly in the Shan States area and also wherever they tried to outflank our troops in the foothills.

He did not know that Sir Harcourt Butler had said that it would be unwise to abolish the Burmese from the Army, but it confirmed his opinion of Sir Harcourt's sagacity. It was a point which should have been resisted by any civilian with an intelligent outlook on the future of Burma.

Mr Michie had asked him to confirm what he said about European employers. There was no question that in Rangoon everyone who was capable was being trained, heads of firms were taking their month's training, which was pretty strenuous, after their day's work. With regard to what had happened since the "blitz," he had heard that there had been the greatest keenness on everybody's part to assist the Government in every way.

With regard to the point raised about aerodromes, there was no question but that there were large parts of North Burma where a level surface could be converted into an aerodrome. One had been made at Myitkyina, mainly for the transit of freight from India to China. In Central Burma it was not so easy, where black cotton soil was prevalent, and to make an aerodrome on black cotton soil was asking for trouble, according to the R.A.F. In Central Burma many suitable areas had been suggested, but most of them were rejected for this reason. There were grounds not very far from the railway line, in the Shan States and on the Chinese frontier, but there was nothing close to the present fighting.

He would not care to be drawn into an argument on the separation and its consequences, and on the question of the petrol the inquirer had as much information on the subject as he had

The CHAIRMAN proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer. He understood that Lady Craw had also done fine work in respect to medical and other comforts for the troops in Burma. She was the daughter of Dr. John Pollen, who was the Honorary Secretary of the East India Association for some years, so that they had a special pride in what she had done for Burma. He wondered whether it was too much to suggest that Sir Henry Craw should approach the B B C with a view to making a broadcast on this subject. He was sure it would be of great value to the public at the present time.

INDIA AND THE FILM

BY ALEXANDER SHAW

WE all know that India is a country of vast distances, of varied tongues, and, above all, of illiteracy. Most of its people are cut off from books and papers, except at second hand, radio is comparatively unknown, owing to the lack of money to buy sets. Its traditional entertainments—story-tellers, marionettes, plays, and dancing—are becoming more and more rare. It is a land of people who are cut off from the outside world, and with whom it is difficult to establish contact. There is one link, though, that can join people across many barriers of language and distance—this link is a pictorial one. A picture of a man represents a man in almost every part of the world, and a film can turn an idea into pictures. A film can be sent anywhere, it can be made to suit any audience, and, above all, it can be made in one part of the world and sent in a tin to any other part. An idea in a tin, and an idea which anyone, regardless of upbringing or language, can understand.

Old and tattered copies of certain American films are still running to crowded cinemas in small towns in India—films which we have long forgotten, but which, because of their simplicity of idea and directness of appeal, are still telling their story to thousands who cannot understand one word the characters are saying. Films made in Bombay, in what is known as film Hindustani, often have an enormous success with audiences who, again, cannot understand one word of them. If the action is clear, if the film is well made and the idea behind the story is well translated into visuals, that film is a success.

For films are enormously popular in India, and their introduction to that country has led to the development of a great industry. It was, of course, a golden opportunity. Rich Indian merchants saw an easy way of making money. You just had to take a traditional play on a mythological subject, set up a camera, and film it. If you could introduce a few tricks—a descent from the clouds, a disappearance into nothingness—so much the better. There was a vast potential audience. Most of that audience

could not afford to see your film, but there were enough who had an anna or two, in a population so vast, to make your returns run into thousands of rupees. The films were crude, but at first the audiences were undiscriminating. If they were given what they knew, they were delighted, providing the films ran for at least three hours.

THE PRESENT-DAY INDUSTRY

Today film production is a flourishing industry. From the studios of Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, and Poona come hundreds of films a year. The studios employ thousands of people. They have their own stars, their Press agents, their fan magazines, and their Packard cars for their managing directors. They have, from time to time, imported foreign technicians to assist them, and the quality of the films has improved. But unfortunately the films themselves have not improved very much. The men in charge of the industry are still mostly men of no taste and of little ability, except when it comes to balance sheets, mergers, and business deals. Sound film and many other modern technical improvements have come to their studios, but the film magnates still think that they are catering for imbeciles and that the greatest aim in life is to extract as many annas as possible from their audiences. They are still far behind their public, as their many costly failures show. The educated section of the public despise the Indian film and go increasingly to American- or English-speaking cinemas. And this is not just intellectual snobbery, the banality of the average Indian film is good enough reason.

With a few honourable exceptions the producers continue to turn out the same old crude plots, occasionally varying them with carbon copies of American films. If there is a vogue for American crime films, then Bombay turns out the same stories in an Indian setting, if Westerns are the current favourites, then Indian actors must mount horses and gallop after trains. These excursions into the realms of unreality are not, perhaps, important. They have at least provided amusement for large audiences, and, if they have done nothing to help the Indian film industry, they have at least kept it solvent.

There is, however, a new type of film which is becoming popular, and this is where the lack of taste of the average Indian producer becomes more essentially dangerous. Films made here and in America are frequently attacked for their bad moral effect and lack of discrimination, but their wildest errors pale beside the flagrantly vulgar themes of many Indian films. Indian film censors are constantly at work protecting the public, quite justifiably, against the stupidities of the film-makers. And it is in these films, too, that the Indian aping of Hollywood becomes often ridiculous. I have sat through a film wondering where I had seen it before, and yet knowing that I could not have done so. Half-way through I recognized it as an almost exact copy of a big American success of the year before. It is even said that work on one Indian film came to a standstill in the studio because the American film from which it was being copied ceased its run at one of the local cinemas before the shorthand writer had been able to take down the dialogue of the last two reels.

This sort of film-making means complete loss of prestige for the Indian film industry in India. Young Indians of intelligence will not take up films as a career, the studios are considered outside any possibility of reasonable consideration. One does not see the names of such writers as Mulk Raj Anand, of Ahmed Ali, of Raja Rao or Narayan on the credit titles of Indian films. Nor are the studios a magnet for the teachers of Indian thought and art. Scarcely an Indian girl of decent family could appear in front of the camera without becoming an outcast. When the now-popular actress Sneprabha went into films it was a matter of nationwide comment, because she had been at a university and had got her B A. Just before I left Bombay last year a child of good family had been given a contract by a reputable film company, and it was a contract made entirely to the mother's agreement. But when they both arrived from their home town none of their relatives, of whom many were resident in Bombay, would receive them. Those of you who know the strong ties which bind the Indian family together will understand the significance of this event.

The whole vast store of Indian art and literature is, for all practical purposes, untouched. In this country you have the names of Shaw and Wells and Huxley, of Vaughan Williams and William Walton, connected with the making of films. In India the names of Tagore, Rhadakrishnan, and Raman are conspicuous by their absence.

IMPROVED PRODUCTION

But there is another side to this rather gloomy and sordid picture. The Indian film industry of which I have been speaking forms, it is true, the major part—they make films which are bad ethics, bad entertainment, and bad film craft, and they show no signs of getting any better. But there are exceptions which show great promise for the industry as a whole, if it can put its house in order. Scattered throughout the studios are directors, actors, and technicians of great ability and integrity. There are even one or two studios who put the excellence of the film before everything else. Films made by Messrs Prabhat, of Poona, and New Theatres, of Calcutta, have great merit. The direction of "Sant Dnyaneshwar," by Dhamle and Fatehlal, of "Aurat," by Mehboob, the acting of lovely Devika Rani and Nawab and Sardar Ahktar, the camera work of Irani, the script of "Padosi," the sound recording of Chandrikant, the equipment of studios in Madras—all these show that excellent films could be made in India. India could make films which would really express the spirit of a great country.

I am not suggesting that the making of films should be a matter of art for art's sake—if a film does not entertain first and foremost, it has not done its job—but I do suggest that there are different levels of entertainment. America and England have proved that good taste and good entertainment and good box-office returns go hand in hand.

If those of you who are cinema goers will think back, you may realize how much of the spirit of many countries you may have unconsciously absorbed without ever having set foot across their frontiers. Consider for a moment how the great early Russian films swept across the world and

showed us all the picture of a new idea. Whether we liked it or not, films such as "Potemkin," "The General Line," and "Earth" must have conditioned our thoughts about Russia. France sent us films as different from each other as "Mayerling," "La Bête Humaine" and "Le Roman d'un Tricheur," but each film was stamped with French culture and ideals. Until the outbreak of this war the American cinema-going public probably thought that all Englishmen had titles, lived on horseback, hunted foxes, and inhabited half-timbered Tudor cottages, because those were the things which obsessed many English film-makers at that time. All these films, whether for good or ill, have carried a message across the divisions of frontiers and seas. If the message was a good one, the film helped to create a feeling of friendship and understanding between peoples, and at any time, but particularly in times such as these, there can be few more important works than this.

India should send us her best films, and by her best films I do not mean films which she has made with one eye on Hollywood, or films which she has made self-consciously for a foreign market. A few films have been made in India which reflect something of the life of her people, and, even if some of them have been set in a distant age, it would not make much difference if the picture they show is an honest one, for many things change very slowly, if at all, in that essentially conservative country. Such films, suitably shortened and with superimposed sub-titles, could be the forerunners of more and better films. They would, of course, reach a comparatively small public, but it would be a vocal and an intelligent one, and ideas soon spread.

THE DOCUMENTARY FILM

Films are a powerful bridge between nations, but so far I have only talked of feature or story films. There is another kind of film which is becoming an increasingly powerful weapon in bringing about understanding between nations. Perhaps "weapon" is a bad word to us in this connection, suggesting as it does the word "strife." There are a lot of bad words one has to try and avoid when talking of films—"propaganda" is another of them. This other kind of film is the documentary film, and, although it is a type of film which has been in use for many years, it has become of very special importance during the war. Governments have had a lot of things to say, both to their own peoples and to their allies, and one way of saying them has been by means of the short film. From America and Russia and Canada and Australia have come a series of these short, sharp, and concise messages. At home here the Ministry of Information have shown a different five-minute film every week in the cinemas, as well as making hundreds of films for showing in villages and clubs, to civil defence organizations, and many other specialized audiences. They have also made films to tell our allies what we are doing in this war, to tell them how we are living in these days of strife, or to thank them for the help which they are giving us.

There is much hard work to be done. Good relationships, good feelings between nations, do not just come about because people happen to be on the same side in a war. They can only ever be the result of years of

knowing each other. It cannot be said, even now, that all the Allies know and understand one another, there are bound to be times when one country cannot understand what the other fellows are driving at, when small doubts occur and frictions impede our united efforts.

This is where the work of the propagandist is needed. He can shout, he can speak, or, more important still, he can whisper. Using all the resources common to mankind for centuries, plus the powerful new voices with which science has endowed him, he can tell the world what he wants it to hear.

In this work the film plays an important part. It can reach an audience who are deaf to the ceaseless noise of radio and blind to anything but the larger headlines in the Press. And it reaches that audience at a time when it is in a receptive frame of mind. People go to the cinema to see something that is happening outside the run of their daily lives. All they demand is that whatever they see should be entertaining and of first-class quality. This is true of all audiences, but it is, perhaps, especially true of Indian audiences. With their long tradition of skilful story-telling, of the interplay of abstract ideas in their dramas, and of the intricate and lovely movements of their dances, they have for generations been accustomed to the best forms of entertainment. In recent years these recreations may have decayed, but they have left their mark and established a standard of excellence for all time.

Now let us look at the short film again. Within the sensible limitations imposed by its length—which may be anything between five and twenty minutes—it is capable of endless uses. It can illuminate an obscure or little-known subject—an example of this type of film is the brilliant “Strategy of Oil” which John Grierson has sent us from Canada, it can arouse emotions—I expect that most of you will remember “London Can Take It”, it can teach, as it does in the brilliant series of Ministry of Information films on agricultural subjects, it can exhort, as the Russian short films exhorted the people when the enemy were at their very gates, and it can record, as is shown every week in our cinemas, when, for five minutes, the audience is shown different aspects of our struggle.

RECORDING FILMS

Perhaps the first objective that films exchanged between India and this country should set themselves is just this simple one of recording—showing the people and how they live, showing the countries and what they look like, showing each other our problems and our achievements. The subjects will have to be chosen with care. The Taj Mahal and the Tower of London are not the most important things in either land. Let us give the peoples of both countries a chance to get to know each other—how they dress, what sort of jobs they do, how they live. All human beings, when their minds have not been perverted by strange creeds, have much in common. Most men want peace and the simple pleasures of life. Each side should have the opportunity of getting to know the other, and, even if they thus also have an opportunity for criticism and ridicule, at least the opportunity will be reciprocal.

Therefore, first of all I would suggest that a series of films should be made which just record each other's daily lives. And, of course, it would be best if the films about us were made, or at least conceived, by an Indian, and the films about India were made by an Englishman, because then each subject would present new angles unstaled by daily contact.

At the same time a series of quite different films should be in production. These films should be made on themes arising from the Cripps mission. India and ourselves still have much in common. To India Japan is an enemy no less than to us, and Japan is very near—and getting nearer every day—to the long, peaceful coastline and the busy cities and quiet villages of Hindustan. There, to start with, we have a bond, and a strong one too.

Let us strengthen it by all the means in our power. We have sent our armed forces to that vast continent, let us now send messages to strengthen the hearts of the people. We could tell them what we think this war is all about. Never mind if they have different views, it is up to us to tell them what we think. Let us not talk about freedom—freedom can be a dangerous word—but let us talk about facts.

We could make films to show the sort of people we are fighting against and the things they have done to the countries which they have enslaved, and which they would do to us and to India if we were to let them. Films could be made to show how we are fighting this war across the world with battle fronts in every continent. We could show, too, how the peoples of China are fighting this war with us and not against us, in spite of the Japanese bait of a new Asiatic order. A film of the peoples who are fighting together suggests many possibilities as well as films of what we are all fighting for.

These films would have to be carefully planned, for one of the drawbacks of the film is the time which it takes to make, and even after it has been made it must still get to its destination.

Practical films could be sent, too—films on the grim necessities of fire-fighting and A R P, on Home Guard training and anti-gas precautions. These are the useful films of war. We could also send the useful films of peace. We are rich in scientific and educational films and in films of cultural value. They have but a small place in life at the moment, but they are the sort of films that build for the future.

In return for these films which we could, and indeed now are beginning to, send to India she would have to send us films. Besides the ordinary films of everyday life, we must have more films of what India is doing to help win the war, to resist the aggressor, and to speed the peace. For, in spite of political differences, her contribution is enormous. I would like to ask you all to consider on what subjects you would like to see films from India. I personally would like to see records of the magnificent work of the Indian fighting forces in Libya and Burma, of the way in which India is using her vast natural resources for war-time purposes, of how the ever-approaching war front is affecting Indian life. I do not want to see any more elephants or temples or *sadhus* with mud in their hair. Above all, I would like to see films on these so-much-talked-of problems of India.

I suggest that the Government of India should consider some films on controversial subjects. It was, indeed, one of the first ideas I put forward when I arrived in New Delhi last year. The suggestion was not received with any enthusiasm, and my time was too short to do any campaigning. But I still believe that a series of objective films on the communal question, on economic problems, and on the set-up of the Congress Party would have been invaluable. Many otherwise well-informed people with whom I discussed India a few weeks ago, at a time when everybody was discussing India, thought that Muhammadans and Muslims were two different and conflicting races of people.

THE INDIAN FILM BOARD

All these subjects need planning and co-ordinating. War-time measures must often be makeshift, but out of those measures often come plans for peace. In a world already overburdened with committees and boards I would hesitate to offer for your consideration the formation of yet another such organization, were it not for the fact that I believe such a suggestion to be of great importance to all those who are interested in the relations between our two countries. It is necessary that an Indian Film Board should be set up, and, even if that cannot be done now because of more urgent matters, it should at least be planned so that it is ready to go into action in the service of peace. The Government of India have already made a start by creating a Film Advisory Board for purposes of war-time propaganda—a precedent has been established for the expenditure of public money in the cause of public relations—and with governments, as we all know, a precedent is often half the battle.

An Indian Film Board, with full Government support and, indeed, with at least one or two of the highest possible Government officials on it—such a Board, consisting of these two people, together with five or six others of intellectual and practical standing who are interested in the film as a method of moulding public opinion, could do great good in the cause of universal understanding. Its function would be to encourage or initiate the production of films to put India on the screens of the world, to see that the film was used as a method of education and instruction, to persuade feature film producers to use the great intellectual wealth of India to its best and proper advantage.

It would also have to co-ordinate all the film activities of the Provincial Governments as well as of the various Government departments at the centre. Excessive centralization can often defeat its own ends, and it is true that problems, when viewed from the vast open spaces of New Delhi, usually seem too simple or far too complex, but even a year's intensive film production is comparatively small, and overlapping is wasteful and extravagant.

I would ask you, in conclusion, to consider the importance of the visual message, of the idea in a tin, of the film, in fact, and to consider the part it can play in paving the way for a better understanding between our two countries. Before I left Bombay last autumn I had the great pleasure of discussing this matter with the late Sir Akbar Hydari. One

of the wisest and shrewdest of men, he, too, believed that the most powerful method of propagating ideas in India was by means of the film

We all of us hope that the day will come, and come soon, when India and Great Britain will work together side by side in peace and friendship. It is the duty of all of us to hasten that day by doing everything within our power, by using all our great resources to prepare the way for that happy and necessary union

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association held at the Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C., on Wednesday, May 20, 1942, with Sir John Hubback, K.C.S.I., in the Chair, Mr. Alexander Shaw read a paper on "The Film in India"

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the speaker, said that Mr. Shaw had spent a year in India, only returning last December. He had gone to India with a double purpose—the purpose of trying, through the film, to show England what modern India really was and also to show India as a whole what some of the most important parts of India really were. This was no easy task, it was not easy, first of all, to interest and entertain an English audience when that audience was composed, to a considerable extent, of people whose ideas of India were largely confined to *rajahs* and *elephants* and perhaps a certain amount of other interest derived from *Kim* and the *Jungle Books*. On the other hand, it was not very easy to interest and to entertain the peasants of the remoter villages in the training of soldiers, sailors and airmen in war conditions, in the busy life of such seaports as the cities of Calcutta and Bombay, or the making of steel at Jamshedpur. Further, it was an obvious economy, if it could be accomplished, to make the same film entertain and instruct both kinds of audience.

Mr. Shaw had undertaken another task—that of building up a school in India which would carry on his work. In that he had been very successful, and had found young Indians in various parts of India who were fully qualified to master the difficult technique of documentary films. He himself was one of the leading producers of documentary films in the world.

Mr. SHAW then read his paper, which was followed by the showing of three short documentary films—two Indian and one English.

The CHAIRMAN opened the discussion by thanking Mr. Shaw very warmly in the name of all present for his paper and for the films which had been shown. All were of very great interest, and the first seemed particularly to illustrate the point made by Mr. Shaw, that one way in which to increase friendliness greatly between the two countries was by the use of documentary films. The last film seemed of exceptional interest, even to those who had already seen a great deal of Indian industry, and would no doubt be of even greater interest to those who had not.

Mr. Shaw had said that there was some difficulty in getting Indians of good social status to come forward in the film industry, and that, once they had launched themselves on that career, they were not considered very desirable people. The Chairman felt that this was only a passing phase, and reminded the meeting that similar ideas had prevailed in England. With regard to the possibilities of acting, from his own experience in Orissa, he felt sure that that Province could supply many admirable film actors.

He had been a little puzzled by what Mr. Shaw had said about making films on controversial subjects. His immediate reaction was that this meant films illustrating

Hindu processions playing music before mosques, Muslims sacrificing cows at Bakrid, or the hardly more edifying spectacle of the Congress Working Committee attempting to come to some sort of formula for non-violent resistance to Japanese aggression! He assumed Mr Shaw had not that sort of picture in mind, but he was not so sure that the people to whom Mr Shaw had presented the idea in India might not have had some such thoughts, which caused their rather unfriendly response to his proposal.

SIR HARRY LINDSAY said that he had been enormously impressed by Mr Shaw's paper, not only for the breadth of vision and interest, but also the gems of humour which sparkled all through it. He had always felt that the distinction between the documentary film—of which Mr Shaw was one of the leading exponents—and the entertainment film was that the entertainment film was one in which the producer was given a story to start with and the documentary was one in which he had to weave the story himself, sometimes out of the most unpromising material. He considered Kipling to have been the first and finest exponent of the documentary principle, because Kipling was an artist at weaving a story out of the ordinary facts of human life, and those were the materials on which the documentary film was based. The great danger before the documentary producer seemed to be that out of the facts of life, which were always very complex whether in nature or human nature, it was only too easy to draw one or two simple facts, simple aspects, and weave them into a complex story. That would seem to be definitely false art: first of all to convert a complex story into a simple one, and then to tell it complexly—whereas the true art is to tell the complex story simply. In other words, the producer would have to become the expert, and that was exactly what Kipling became.

MR F BURTON LEACH said that he had found Mr Shaw's paper of the greatest interest because he had had the good fortune to be in some small way connected with the events which had led to Mr Shaw's journey to India, the results of which had been seen that afternoon. Perhaps even now it might not be realized what entirely new ground had been broken by Mr Shaw. Two years ago, when the question of making documentary films of India had been discussed, it was impossible to find in England 100 feet of film of the kind exhibited. They simply did not exist. And it had been most difficult to get the work undertaken. Formerly, the speaker, like the Chairman, had had very little appreciation of films and was rather apt to judge them from the worst Hollywood efforts, at which Mr Shaw had poked fun so delightfully in his paper. But in the last two years he had been privileged to see a very little, from the outside, of the work in the film world which was being done by Mr Shaw and by a small devoted band of people working on the same lines, and this had completely revolutionized his ideas of what the cinema could do.

One thing which the war had shown was the enormous power of the cinema in combining instruction with entertainment. As Mr Shaw had pointed out, films must have entertainment value, and certainly these films proved that it was possible to combine entertainment value and interest with real instruction. He hoped that this work, which had had such a tremendous impetus given to it by war propaganda, would not be allowed to die after the war was over, and he hoped most sincerely that the cinema would take its proper place and play the part that it should in the education of this country. He was sure that everyone, adults and children alike, could get more idea of what India was like in an hour of looking at films of the sort that had just been shown than they could in many hours of reading books.

Mr Shaw had spent a year in India, in which he turned out some fifteen or twenty films, and he had left that good work in India as a going concern. The films which he had made, or started to make, were still arriving in this country and would be shown in the theatres within the next few months. That they had an entertainment value was shown by the fact that the theatres were booking them.

RECEPTION TO HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA

A RECEPTION to welcome the new High Commissioner for India, Sir Azizul Huque, C I E, arranged by the East India Association and the Royal Empire Society, was held in the Assembly Hall of the latter on Thursday, May 28. The guests, some 350 in number, were received by Mr and Mrs L S Amery, Lady (Frederick) Sykes, Sir John Woodhead, and Mr and Mrs R S Bond.

The Right Hon L S AMERY, M P, presided, and said: My duty this afternoon is, on your behalf, to welcome the new High Commissioner for India, Sir Azizul Huque, who has come here to undertake the responsible and important duties of India's High Commissioner in this country. Those duties cover a very wide field, the responsibilities of which have been greatly increased by the war. It is a field which we all hope will be greatly enlarged after the war, when India's own Government independently takes charge of many matters for which the ultimate responsibility at present still rests with the Secretary of State.

Over and above these arduous official duties, Sir Azizul Huque comes to England in a more personal capacity as the representative and mouthpiece of India—India's ambassador to this country to make us understand what India thinks and feels, and, we hope, in the course of time to help India to understand what we think and what we hope for ourselves.

Sir Azizul comes with very exceptional qualifications for this task, he has been a most successful barrister, which leads in many directions, not least that of the Lord Chancellorship, whose occupant (Lord Simon) is here today. He has been an active politician, one who more particularly has voiced the needs and aspirations of the simple peasant of Bengal and of India at large—of the man behind the plough. In more recent years he has had another task, which in one branch of our legislature also falls to the Lord Chancellor—that of guiding and controlling the deliberations of the Legislative Assembly of his great Province. Last, but by no means least, he has been the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, a university which normally has the best part of a hundred thousand students attending its courses. It is the largest university in the Empire. I rather think the largest university in the world.

All these matters, these responsibilities and these interests very dear to him, he has given up in order to serve India in this country, no small sacrifice when, in addition to these larger families of the university and of the Assembly which he has had to leave to themselves, he has also been forced by the needs of war to sever more intimate domestic ties and leave his own family behind—for the present at any rate.

He comes here at a time of no small anxiety and public preoccupation, but he has also come in spring time, come in time to see something of the beauty of our English countryside, also at a time when we are all filled with hope and believe that somehow or other, dark as the clouds may be, the end may be nearer than we sometimes fear and that the victory, of whose certainty we have no doubt, may be approaching—we know not. At any rate, he has come in spring time and come in hope and confidence to undertake his tasks. We hope that he will carry on those tasks not only in time of war but in time of peace and reconstruction and, as I have said before, with ampler responsibilities to fulfil.

Sir Azizul succeeds one who made the High Commissionership a very popular institution in this country—Sir Feroz Khan Noon. He comes inheriting a fund of goodwill and interest which his predecessors have created and which he will no doubt enlarge in every direction before he goes back to India to undertake whatever high duties in the service of India he may then be called to do, and I hope it will include in some measure that of an ambassador of this country to India, one who can interpret to India what we are, how we live, what we feel, and, not least, the depth and sincerity of our goodwill to India. (Cheers.)

Sir Azizul Huque, in reply, said: On an occasion like this one is apt to be overwhelmed with feelings within oneself, all the more so when Mr Amery has spoken

so warmly about myself and drawn the nature of the future relationship between this country and the great country to which I am proud to belong, and therefore it will be difficult for me to give full expression to all that I feel. May I express my deepest sense of gratitude to the members of the East India Association and the Royal Empire Society for this function today? After all, man in himself is a very humble being, but I take the function of today as the symbol of your feelings for India and an expression of goodwill to India and those connected with her.

I have come here in the face of many personal difficulties. There is the difficulty of not being accustomed to the climate of this country, the difficulty of practically not knowing anyone except by reputation, and the difficulty of finding my way about the streets of London. (Laughter) You will certainly feel sympathy that I, a stranger, who has never been to this country before, had to undertake a journey of nearly 15,000 miles at a most critical time in the history of England and India and the whole Empire. I did so in the faith that if there is something like Providence—as I have the deepest faith that there is—we shall succeed, and that a day will come when the Empire and the Commonwealth will go from strength to strength, obtaining victory not only to ourselves but setting before mankind a new ideal and setting before the world a new faith. If I did not believe that, I should not have undertaken this arduous journey. I believe in that great future, and in the happy relationship between India and England which is foreshadowed in the recent decisions of His Majesty's Government.

I am following one who created a great reputation here, and I have to maintain the goodwill which he promoted. I have no doubt that I shall receive the same cordial feelings from you all. When I return to India and speak of my impressions I shall say that I have, above all, noticed that everyone in this country is now anxious that India shall attain her proper position in the Commonwealth.

I have noticed one remarkable thing—that in spite of the fact that sometimes you have no statutory laws or regulations, you have certain principles in all your activities, the Commonwealth has no rigid code, it is growing, a living organism, and today with great fraternal relationship between one country and another. I know the criticisms about the Empire, but I have the faith that it is a living thing, it is growing from day to day from strength to strength. Like the English Parliament, it has grown from the barons to the common people, and from the Parliament emerges a great Commonwealth. If I am asked what is the position of England, I shall answer: England will stand as the creator of the greatest commonwealth in history, one which will show to mankind hopes for the future. In that faith I have come to this country. When we look round the Empire we see that we have vast material resources, our manpower is unlimited, our riches higher than those of any other country, and if we are agreed on a common ideal there is a great future for humanity.

It is in that spirit that I look at my task, and it is in that spirit that I hope India and England will grow. His Majesty's Government has made a definite declaration as to the future of India, and I personally feel that we can now begin to settle the Constitution and find out what India's place will be in the post-war reconstruction. There is still here and there an atmosphere of suspicion, but I have no doubt it will soon be dispelled and England and India will meet together in one bond to become partners in a common ideal. I look forward to the time when the mists of suspicion will vanish away and we shall live together as the citizens of a great Empire and Commonwealth in which the rights of man will be at the highest level and men will live as human beings should live after this great agony of today, and not as the Nazis or the Japanese want us to live.

You will realize that whatever might be the political criticisms in India, we are not unmindful of the great work which England has done in our country, and gratitude is an element of our life in the East. I have come to England in that spirit, we have still the best to hope for, and we are not devoid of that element of gratitude which is the best thing in human life. (Loud cheers)

The speeches were followed by the showing of films depicting the life of India, and a social tea hour, when Sir Azizul Huque met old friends and was introduced to others.

THE BRITISH BUSINESS MAN IN INDIA HIS LIFE AND WORK

BY SIR LESLIE HUDSON

THERE have been so many accusations of late from "Special Correspondents" and others of the lax behaviour and extravagance of the British business man in the East that the facts of his life and his work may be of some interest to the majority of the public, who are as uninformed as the people who attempt to inform them in the Press appear to be misinformed.

It would obviously not be possible to go over the whole history of British trade and commerce within the limits of a short paper, and I therefore confine myself to modern times. Three hundred years or so ago the business man was the accredited representative of the merchant adventurers in Britain seeking for the pepper and spices so keenly demanded by the Western world. The present-day equivalents of the factors and writers of those days are very different to their forerunners in equipment, outlook, occupation, and salary. Even the era of the Lancashire textile industry, which for so long constituted the backbone of British importing business in India, is now ancient history, and it will be to the period starting from the end of the last great war, which saw the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, and from which date the outlook of the business man has had to be greatly reorientated, that my remarks have particular application. During this period the Government of India adopted the policy of discriminating protection, resulting in the imposing of protective import duties in order to enable selected indigenous industries to compete successfully with imported manufacturers. The industrialization of India has greatly increased as a result, and we see it today gathering a momentum which would have been considered impossible fifty years ago, and almost incredible even twenty-five years back.

It has recently been publicly suggested from two quarters that the growth of industrialism in India has been responsible for a deterioration in the relations between Britain and India, owing to the behaviour of the British business community in India. Nothing is, in fact, further from the truth. The period has been one of growing association between Britons and Indians in every walk of life, as I hope to show as I proceed.

The term "business man" naturally covers a very wide field and ranges over professional men, banking, shipping, insurance, general merchants—both import and export—the mill industries in all the big centres, and, up-country, mining of many descriptions, tea, coffee, sugar, rubber plantations, forestry, and countless other occupations. The business man's service in the tropics may be conveniently divided into three main periods. Firstly, as a young man coming out in his early twenties under an agreement for a term of years, generally four or five nowadays, at the end of which he will be entitled to home leave, when, if his employer and he are mutually satisfied, he will be offered a further agreement, usually for another four years, with further home leave, and so on until he is

thirty or thirty-five years old, when he may be said to enter the middle stage. By the time he is about forty he will probably have become a senior assistant and be looking forward to the third stage—that of seniority—during which, if he is lucky, he will become a partner, director, or manager with the prospect of further service for a number of years.

THE NEW ARRIVAL

Take, then, the young man on his first engagement. He will have undergone a variable amount of business training at home, will have been selected for service abroad by merit and for character, and will start on a reasonable salary, which will vary with the circumstances and location of his employment, and which will usually be subject to yearly increases. Conditions of life in India naturally vary in accordance with whether his occupation is to be in an office in a city or as a junior assistant on a tea garden, or in other employment up-country. The new arrival to climatic and other surroundings entirely different from those to which he has been accustomed at home will usually find quarters in a chummery or in one of the well-run boarding-houses, where he will be in contact with men of his own age and standing. He will provide himself with a personal servant—an absolute necessity in the East—and, if he is fortunate, will find a retainer, who will remain with him for the rest of his life. He will settle down to learn Hindustani, which will carry him almost anywhere in the big cities, and make himself acquainted with his job.

He will find from the very start that he has to shoulder responsibilities far greater than any he will have been accustomed to at home. He will have to get to understand the employees over whom he will have control, most of whom will at first be more knowledgeable than himself. The Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, recently wrote to *The Times* advocating that every Englishman who goes to India, in whatever capacity, should have a prior knowledge of a number of things, including the language of the province in which his work would lie. The language question is not so easily capable of solution as the Director appears to think, most provinces have more than one language, and not only may a man's work take him to more than one province, but a new arrival often does not know until he lands in India to which province he is to be posted. This is, no doubt, one reason why more business men do not learn one or other of the various languages before proceeding East, and another is that it is much easier to learn a necessary language on the spot than what may prove an unnecessary one in England. It is as well also to bear in mind that the language difficulty does not only exist between the Britisher and the Indian. Not so many years ago a well-known Congress leader arriving in Bombay was taken at once to hear an address from a mass demonstration of mill labourers. In replying to the address, the Congress leader opened his remarks by confessing that he had not understood a word of the language in which the address was couched, and went on to advocate the use of a common language for India, which is, I believe, one of Mr Gandhi's cherished ideals.

Broadly speaking, the British business man learns the language neces-

sary to enable him to do his job properly For instance, no European assistant on a tea estate in Southern India would survive his first year if he had not acquired a knowledge of Tamil—or whatever the appropriate language of his district might be—sufficient to enable him to deal with the labourers

CO-OPERATION

The problem of self-government for India is not going to be solved by the budding British business man acquiring before he goes to India a knowledge of Indian history and institutions and of India's great contributions to human civilization Where practicable, such knowledge is, no doubt, a desirable ideal, but, in so far as the British business community in India can influence the speed and direction of India's approach to self-government, what is going to be of importance to the new-comer is not the historical knowledge he may bring to India, but the atmosphere which he finds there

The Times Correspondent at Delhi, in analysing recently the reaction of the different political organizations to the British Declaration taken to India by Sir Stafford Cripps, said

Europeans realize that an entirely new status for India is contemplated after the war, and they are likely to adapt themselves to it'

This remark was as true a good many years ago as it is today The British commercial community has for long realized that what is best for India as a whole is best for themselves, and their attitude towards Indian aspirations has throughout the last twenty-odd years been one of active co-operation It is to such an atmosphere of co-operation that the young man arrives, and it is sheer nonsense to say, as it has been said, that the community's attitude towards Indians is one of exclusive aloofness

From the very beginning the new arrival will have to cultivate friendly relations with the Indians with whom he is brought into contact in the course of business, and he will find that both in work and play there is the keenest competition, and that his competitors in both will very frequently be Indians who have been educated abroad on the same lines at the same schools or colleges as himself, and that only by real hard work and application will he be able to hold his own at either work or play

MODERN AMENITIES

His working time at the start will be at least fifty-four hours a week, and as he gains advancement it will be very much more For the outdoor recreation necessary if he is to keep his health he will find opportunity in the early mornings or after office hours He will probably want to join some recreation club, such as the gymkhana clubs, which exist in many of the cities, where, in addition to athletic games of all descriptions, he will find opportunities for social intercourse, and in this connection it must be remembered that he no longer has a convenient home to go to—he is out of the nest and has to learn to look after himself and make his own friends Work and play in a climate where for much of the year one is perspiring all day and all night causes evaporation of moisture which needs replacements, but soft drinks are the order of the day until the sun

has gone down, and even then the amount of alcohol in his "chota peg" is not large

Modern amenities of life for him are very different from those of forty or fifty years ago, when there was little electricity, when sanitation was almost primitive, and social life was for the youngster most limited. The ills that the ordinary man is subject to in England are equally present in the tropics, with the addition of a number of other minor and major dangers that are almost unknown in the homeland—the annoying irritation of prickly heat, the discomfort of boils and fever, the more serious danger of typhoid, plague, smallpox, and cholera, though with present-day inoculations these are a less menace than in years gone by. Fevers of greater or less duration can seldom be avoided, and there is always present the danger of malaria, more particularly perhaps up-country, where mosquito control cannot be so effectively carried out. In the cities electric fans, refrigerators, and, when necessary, hospital treatment are available, but this is not always the case in the mofussil.

There will usually be a certain amount of local leave annually for the youngster to spend at some up-country station, within the limits of his purse, to further broaden his knowledge and outlook on life and conditions in India. For the first few years he will find it none too easy to save much out of his salary, and will have to watch his budget as closely as any Chancellor of the Exchequer, and without the capacity of the latter for raking in the wherewithal to make both ends meet. He will almost certainly on arrival join the Indian Defence Force in some capacity. I am not writing now, of course, of conditions in the present crisis, when almost every able-bodied man of military age has joined up, leaving business concerns with a mere skeleton cadre to carry on their affairs. In ordinary times a new man will be invited to take an interest in the politics of the country by joining the local branch of the European Association, and this interest will grow with his stay in India. Where his capacity for organization shows up he will be welcomed on the committees of the widespread charitable and social institutions, and these calls on his time will continue in an increasing degree as he grows in years and experience.

HELPING INDIA FORWARD

It is not uncommon for the British to be referred to as foreigners in India, but the European in India does not regard himself as such. He regards himself as a citizen of India, and claims for himself no more than the full rights of citizenship, which the Indian in Great Britain enjoys. Here I may, perhaps, comment briefly on a letter the Bishop of Calcutta addressed through the Press to the British community in India, from the context of which it may be presumed he refers particularly to the business man. He referred to the stand-offish trait of the British, and stated that it leads them to despise and depreciate traditions, customs, and practices different from their own, which they regard as necessarily inferior. He went on to speak of the founding of clubs and institutions from which Indians are excluded, and stated that the majority of Britishers have had no desire to identify themselves with the country and its social, cultural, and political aims.

It cannot be denied that the British have throughout the ages been accustomed to judge other nationalities by their own standards, but I venture to say that, so far from standing aloof from the advancement of the country, the British non-official community in India has contributed *more* than any other section of the peoples of India towards the making of Indian nationhood. It is no longer correct to generalize, as the Bishop does, that Indians are excluded from British clubs and institutions. Of late years a great change has taken place in the attitude of formerly exclusive clubs in India. Nowadays there are few either in the cities or mofussil where Indians are not welcomed.

The Bishop refers to the absorption of foreign races who invaded India into the permanent elements in its population, mentioning Aryans, Arabs, and Moguls, and we are led to suppose that the British have in some way failed in India because they have not been similarly absorbed. Could there possibly be a comparison less correct than this? The British went to India as traders, not as invaders. After conferring upon India the benefits of unity and of the rule of law, which she had never previously enjoyed, Britain is now, after 150 years, prepared to hand over to Indians themselves the government of their own country. If this is failure, words cease to have any meaning.

British firms nowadays take on Indian assistants and partners on an equality with their own drafts from the home country, and one has only to look at the names of the directors of leading commercial, industrial, and mercantile concerns to see how widely the capital control of those companies is shared by Indians and Europeans.

THE MIDDLE YEARS

By the time the assistant in a commercial firm is thirty he will usually have had two spells of home leave and probably have taken unto himself a wife. His responsibilities and authority will have increased, and his experience and judgment will be in demand for service on committees and sub-committees of commercial bodies, chambers of commerce and other representative business bodies. The very wide scope of the work of chambers of commerce, for instance, bodies who are looked to not only by their constituent members, but by Government, for guidance and advice, requires many heads and hands to deal with the knotty problems which are continually arising, and your assistant in a banking, shipping, insurance, or other mercantile house, your chartered accountant or solicitor, will be constantly called upon to give his services on one or other of the chambers' many sub-committees. His working hours will have increased, telegrams have an awkward way of arriving at inconvenient hours, and cannot always wait attention till the ordinary business hours of the following day. After his official hours there will be meetings of charitable and educational societies and hospitals, as well as of social and recreation clubs. There is certainly little opportunity for idleness and extravagance.

Living in India is not cheap, and it is necessary to maintain oneself in accordance with one's position in a country where one's standard of living is necessarily higher than it need be in England. The calls upon one's

time and purse for all descriptions of relief are many and grow no fewer or smaller as the business man grows older

It is, generally speaking, at this stage of the business man's career, both in the cities and the mofussil, that he realizes that his individual as well as his community's stake in the country demands a much closer interest in politics than he will hitherto have had much inclination for. In municipal matters, for instance, the days have long disappeared when the British community took their turn in a four-yearly rota with the leading Indian communities to furnish the president of the municipality, and, whilst there are a very small number of seats on municipal bodies reserved for the representatives of commercial bodies such as the chamber of commerce, Europeans who wish to serve must contest their respective wards against Indian fellow-citizens. The European Association, which has for many years cared for the politics of the British in India, as the chambers of commerce have been the leaders of British business affairs, functions to keep its members abreast of political developments, with branches in all the large centres, and the committees of those branches are largely composed of what I have termed the "Middle-Stage" business man.

Thirty years ago it was by no means easy to fan the flames of political interest amongst the younger members of the community, for the great majority were perfectly content to leave politics to those who, largely by virtue of their seniority, had been nominated to the provincial Governors' Councils. Nowadays politics cannot be so lightly treated, and the business man of whatever length of service has opportunities of voicing his views on current affairs. Excluding the 10,000 or so British Government servants, it has been estimated that there are about 20,000 male Europeans—British, that is—in the whole of India. The majority of them come under the heading of the business community, and most of them are entitled to vote for the provincial Legislatures, on which "community" seats are reserved for election by Europeans. Candidates for these seats in each province have to be found from among the staffs of business houses, planters, and others working for their living in India. The periodical sessions of those Legislative Assemblies are usually held in the provincial capitals, where attendance means only partial interruption of a member's attention to his business affairs. The meetings of the central Legislature, however, are held at Delhi and Simla, and this demands a whole-time attendance which even in these days of telephones and aeroplanes is a considerable strain on the business man whose more personal interests are situated hundreds of miles away.

THE UP-COUNTRY COMMUNITY

So far I have said nothing of the men up-country, the majority of them on tea, coffee, and rubber estates, whose life and work are very different from that of men who work in the cities. The tea and other estates in both North and South India are usually many miles from the railway, and, though this is not so much of a handicap in these days of motor transport as it was when almost the only practical means of getting about was on horseback, the European assistant is a good deal cut off from his countrymen. His salary is on a smaller scale than in the cities, but then

his expenses are lighter. He has less to spend his money on and fewer amenities. The planter's life all round is a hard one, and the job of running a large plantation successfully calls for a high degree of ability in the manager. Apart from the expert knowledge of cultivation of the tea, coffee, or rubber bush or tree and its manufacture into the finished product, he must be able to handle tactfully a large labour force, and is responsible for the estate accounts. His managing agents in Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay judge him by results, and it stands to reason that he cannot afford to have inefficient assistants under him, so there is no room for the slacker.

The climate for a great part of the year is, to say the least of it, uncomfortable, with heavy rainfall in many places anything up to 200 inches in the year. Malaria, blackwater fever, and dysentery are constant dangers, though of recent years there has been much successful research into the means of dealing with the bacillus-carrying mosquito. The assistant on an estate has long and strenuous days, and his social life is restricted, as his nearest neighbour is often miles away and the social club still further distant. Opportunities for shikar there are, no doubt, but he will not have a great deal of spare time on his hands for that. Not so many years ago, if a youngster wanted to spend a night away from his garden, he had to write down to Calcutta to get permission, and naturally it was not a favour much asked for.

Much the same conditions apply to the lives of the mine and up-country mill and factory managers and their assistants, none of whom have any opportunity for the luxurious living which the transient cold-weather visitor is prone to picture in recording his reminiscences of the hospitality he has received.

More generally even than his opposite number in the big centres, the up-country European takes his share in training for defence in the various military units in his district, many of which have their traditions of fine service in former years both in and out of India. I have heard it claimed that the business man in the mofussil is closer in touch with the leading Indians in his district, both industrial and agricultural, than the Government officials, who are liable to be, and constantly are, moved from one district to another with bewildering frequency. In one large industrial centre in the Bombay Presidency which I have in mind there were twenty-seven District Magistrates appointed in twenty years.

THE SENIOR PARTNERS

We come, then, to the final stage of the business man's career in India, and the most important one, when his days are more crowded and his responsibilities greater than ever. His day's work will start early, probably several mornings in the week he will be away from his home before 7 a.m. to visit a jute or cotton or paper mill, a dockyard or factory to discuss on the spot current work and policy with the manager, coming back to his bath and breakfast in time to get to his office by 9 or 9.30. There he will have his routine work to attend to, letters and telegrams from all quarters of the world to scrutinize and take action upon, matters of policy and suggestions as to how such policy should be carried out to be cabled to his home office, interviews with his department heads, ex-

change, freight, and other brokers, clients, and so on. He will have board meetings to attend, as well as chamber of commerce committee meetings and the meetings of the Port Trustees or Commissioners. The administration of the major ports in India is vested in bodies on which commercial interests have seats. This arrangement corresponds very closely, I imagine, with that for the control of the Port of London by the Port of London Authority. As in so many other cases, the main work of these bodies is done by committees. Speaking for Bombay, of which I have personal experience, the interest of the work well repays the time involved, and I have always felt that the functioning of these bodies provides the best possible example of all interests working together for the common good. The business man will be fortunate to be able to leave his office by 6 p.m., when he will have to attend other committees connected with hospitals, education, charities, and social welfare before getting any relaxation. As an honorary magistrate he will probably attend one morning a week before office hours at the police court, where, with Indian colleagues, he will deal with delinquents summoned or arrested by the police for petty breaches of the law.

Superimposed on these duties there will, perhaps, be membership of a municipal corporation or of the provincial or central Legislature. There he is in no privileged position, but is, in fact, one of a very small minority so far as numbers are concerned. Any impartial historian of the working of the provincial and central Legislatures from the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms will be bound to pay tribute to the contribution to the deliberations and the work of these bodies by the European non-official members. They organized themselves as time went on until they were working in each Legislature as a group, functioning as a party, with the rights and privileges which parties enjoy. When the Congress took office in 1937 the European members in the Bombay Assembly formed the Progress Party, which was open to all members who felt that they could subscribe to its carefully drawn up programme. Communal alignments were too strict, and no great measure of success attended this effort, though one courageous Indian, who in previous Assemblies had always been a strong critic of Government from the Opposition benches, joined and was elected deputy leader of the party. I mention this only as one instance to show how very far from the truth it is to say, as our critics have done recently, that the European non-official community has stood aloof from Indian political aspirations.

In the Legislatures the European non-official holds a position which is often far from easy. He not seldom finds himself interpreting the Government view to the rest of the House, and as a result he was, before the passing of the 1935 Act and the disappearance of the officials from the Government benches, always being taunted with being Government's "yes-man". In fact, he was on many subjects Government's best-informed critic, and in voting against Government on any "popular" subject he had to be very certain of his ground, as he was fairly sure of substantial backing from Indians of other parties. The influence of the group was certainly out of all proportion to their numbers, and it is no idle boast to say that it was well and wisely used.

THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

I have mentioned the work of the chambers of commerce, bodies who have for a continuous period of over a hundred years been the guides, counsellors, and friends of the business houses engaged in trade and commerce with and in India. Their precepts and rulings are the background of every conceivable problem of commercial life, their opinion is sought by bodies from Governments downwards, their arbitrations, conducted in concert with their Indian colleagues and competitors, are accepted without question. Their membership includes leading Indian firms and most of those foreign firms with branches in India. Their functions are a good deal wider than those of chambers of commerce in this country, of many of which the counterpart in India are the trades associations representing the retailers. Some idea of the breadth of the field covered by the chambers of commerce may be indicated by the composition of their committees, which include bankers, agents of the great railways, and representatives of shipping firms, insurance offices, and the great mill industry. Among other special interests, seats are reserved for commerce constituencies in provincial and central Legislatures, and it is in filling these seats, or one of the general constituency seats reserved for Europeans, that the business man finds himself, whether he likes it or not, engulfed in politics.

The British commercial community has understood and appreciated Indian political aspirations, and as realists they can hardly be blamed if they have been concerned with regulating the pace. They have not disputed the goal, and if anyone doubts this let him turn to the evidence given by representatives of Associated Chambers of Commerce and the European Association before the Round-Table Conference. There have, in fact, been notable instances of European non-official opinion being well in advance of official views, and, speaking again with particular reference to Bombay, the European non-official has had regular contact with Indian circles which has been denied to officials.

The British business man's idea of what was best for India has not always coincided with that of the Indian economist or, quite naturally, with that of his competitor, the Indian business man, but he has set and maintained a standard of political and commercial honesty and fair dealing of which any country might be proud. Too little is known in Britain, America, and elsewhere of the share of the business man in advancing India's prosperity—he has never been very good or very clever at self-advertisement—but, like Wren, his monuments speak for themselves, and, if a concise account of what he has contributed towards India's prosperity is desired, it will be found in the first volume of the Simon Commission Report. It is a pity that that record is not more widely available and read.

The "Nabobs" of Thackeray and William Hickey who went out to India to "shake the pagoda tree" would think very poorly of the monetary reward which the average Britisher brings with him to this country today as the result of a lifetime's work, for in sober truth it may be said to be no more than a modest competence on which to spend the remainder of his life at home.

I hope I have been able to show that the British business community is a hard-working and efficient cog in the working of the Indian machine. It is the British habit to affect an unnecessary modesty towards the achievements of their nation's Empire-builders, from Clive downwards, but it is a fact that no part of the Indian body politic has done more than the European community to further the advancement of India's interests. To the forbears of the British commercial community is due the fact that India is—and let us hope will always remain—a great and valued member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. In the last century and a half men of the middle classes—sons of merchants and manufacturers, of doctors, lawyers, clergymen, teachers, and shopkeepers—have made their way by their efforts to the front rank in the public life of India. Each succeeding generation inherits what is best from its predecessors and makes its own contribution to the common good. Not many of those who finally leave India after many years of strenuous labour do so with anything but a feeling of regret at saying farewell to its hospitable shores, and with lasting memories of the Indian friendships they have made, and the knowledge that they have fairly earned the liking and esteem of their Indian fellow-subjects.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, June 2, 1942, a paper by Sir Leslie Hudson, entitled "The British Business Man in India," was read in his absence by Sir Geoffrey Winterbotham.

LORD CATTO, C.B.E., presided, and in calling for a discussion said that no one was better qualified than his old and valued friend Sir Leslie Hudson to write on such a subject as this. His paper illustrated what he himself had once said in a speech at Calcutta many years ago, that he could not understand the cry that the Briton did not settle in India. That was not the fault of the Briton, but of the climate, which was not really suitable to the European. There were exceptions, of course, such as his old friend Mr. Harry Hobbs of Calcutta, who was still there at well over eighty years of age. But, in general, the climate made it necessary for the Briton to return to his native land to spend the winter of his days. And it often was winter indeed! He recalled that in the speech he made at Calcutta he had referred to this, and had pointed out that if in fact the Briton returned to spend the latter part of his life in his native land, he gave fully of his best in the spring and summer and even the autumn of his life in and for India. And so India got all the advantages, for it had neither to educate him nor to bury him!

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SIR HUGH COCKE said that the author had painted a very fair picture of the British merchant in India. Possibly he had mainly dwelt with the merits and had not emphasized what demerits there might have been in the past. No one would suggest that they had all been perfect. The Bishop of Calcutta had lately suggested that the majority of Europeans did not identify themselves with the social, cultural, and political life of India, and in a sense that was probably true. After all, the majority of people did not go into politics or take up cultural subjects, but a distinguished minority did so, and therefore as a general statement what the Bishop had said was rather mis-

leading. Some European business men in India had given up considerable time to such subjects and had been a great help to Indian aspirations. There had been more opportunities in recent times. To take one relatively small matter, the Sydenham College of Commerce was established in Lord Sydenham's time, and Indians and Europeans had worked together in establishing the B Com degree and giving it a good start and status. He himself had served on the committee of the College for twenty-odd years and had been an examiner at the first examination. It was true that a number of business men in India hated the word politics and desired to stand aloof, but others, like himself, had been lured into politics, and although they might have been called 'mugs' at the time, few of them had regretted it. He had had eight years at Delhi and Simla, and had gained, he thought, a broader view through meeting those who came up from other Provinces, and in particular many members of the Indian Civil Service, than if he had remained in Bombay.

Mr F. BURTON LEACH said that he was not a business man, but having spent thirty years in Government service in India, he had had a most interesting three or four years at the end of that time as Political Secretary of the Burma Chamber of Commerce, where he had had the opportunity of seeing the work done by Sir Leslie Hudson and other European business men. One point which struck him was the immense change which had come over the situation. When he went out to India it was quite the exception for business men to take any interest in politics. A few heads of firms got seats on legislatures and municipal councils and rather grudgingly gave up their time. That had gone by the board nowadays, and the business community had realized that politics had now become an essential part of every man's life. They had done so wholeheartedly and with considerable success. Their views, naturally, had not always coincided with the views of Indians or with the views of the Government of India, but one thing which had struck him very much, both in the Central Legislature and in the Burma Legislature, was that however much the views which the European group expressed might have been unpalatable to a good many other members of the House, they were always listened to, not because they were attractive orators, but because they had a point of view and tried to put it. In one other respect they were able to be of service—namely, in the organization of party politics. Party politics might or might not be a good thing, but it existed, and if it existed it was as well that it should be organized.

The European business men worked very hard and did their best to take a helpful and constructive view of the business before the House and they earned respect in doing so. At the same time it was no good denying that European business men were not altogether popular in India, very largely because they were birds of passage, and there was a good deal of dislike of aliens in every country, India not excepted. European business in India had got special protection under the Government of India Act, which had not added to their popularity. That special protection was not likely to last much longer, and he for one thought it would be no great loss to European business if it went. They would do better for themselves by standing on their own feet, because this would remove the chief ground for their unpopularity. English business thrived in foreign countries without any special protection—as, for instance, in Latin America—and he did not believe that it would fail in India. There had also been a great change, not only among business men, but among all Europeans in India in the general outlook on politics and social life. There were always dichards in every section of the community, but the younger generation who were coming out now were more liberal minded, they had no racial prejudices and very few social ones in the way that some of the bygone generation had had. That would be of great assistance in the future.

Then, if he could say it without offence, there was a certain aspect of life in India generally which was very unfortunate. There was much more snobbery left in India than in this country. It existed among Government servants and in the non-official community. It was a relic of the bad old days. One curious survival in business life was the distinction between commerce and trade. This had died down in England, where one could go into a shop and buy almost anything from a motor-car to a pair of boots and be served by somebody wearing the same old school tie as oneself. But

in India there existed a feeling that there was some difference between selling things retail and selling them wholesale, and there was a subtle distinction between the Chamber of Commerce and the Trades Association. The members of the one were eligible for a club and the members of the other were not. That would, no doubt, die out before long, and it would be a very good thing when it did. It certainly did not make the European business man popular either among his fellow Europeans or among the Indians.

When he was in the Legislative Assembly a certain piece of legislation dealing with labour was being passed through the House containing clauses which would have meant a great restriction on some of the welfare work done by employers for their workmen. The European group fought hard against these clauses, and the Indian members, who were interested in passing the Bill as it stood, told them quite candidly that these clauses were aimed, not at European firms, but at certain Indian firms, which had taken advantage of their present powers under the law to the prejudice of their employees, and to stop this sort of thing it was necessary to impose certain restrictions. There was no doubt that in ways like that the European business men had set a high standard of commercial honesty and fair dealing, which the Indians themselves recognized.

SIR HARI SINGH GOUR said that the paper was impartial and sympathetic, and he hoped his felicitations could be conveyed to Sir Leslie Hudson. Sir Leslie was a Bombay commercial man, and nothing had been said against the Bombay commercial man. In Calcutta it was otherwise. The relations between the Europeans in Bombay and the Indians in that Presidency had always been good, and if any political lead had been taken by Europeans in India in assimilating their ideas to those of Indian politicians it was to the European community in Bombay that they were beholden. The same could not be said of the European community in Calcutta. That community had identified itself with the central bureaucracy when it was centred in Calcutta, and ever since the capital was shifted from Calcutta to Delhi the business houses in Calcutta had played second fiddle to the bureaucracy there. He must add, however, in gratitude to the European houses in Calcutta, that in recent years they had been extremely progressive and sympathetic to what he might describe as moderate Indian opinion, and so far as business integrity and ability were concerned he could confidently assert, associated as he had been with one of the largest corporations in Bengal, that the Indians had absolute confidence in the European managements in Calcutta. If proof of this were needed it could be found in the annual reports of the various companies acting as agents, where it would be found that the bulk of the shares were held by Indians, and that pointed to the fact that whatever might have been the disqualifications of the Europeans in Bengal, their business ability, integrity, and fairplay had never been doubted. He would be sorry indeed if the Europeans in India were to feel that their days in that country were numbered. He had always been in favour of the Indo-British alliance, and was looking forward to an Indo-British union in which both communities would play their part in developing the future of India.

So far as politics was concerned, the Europeans did not go to India for the purpose of developing the political life of the country. They went as business men, and, so far as politics was concerned, it was always a secondary thing. Up to 1935 he had been in direct touch with Sir Leslie Hudson and his fellow members in the Central Legislature, and he knew that while as politicians they did not count, as business men they did, and when they discussed the central Budget their speeches were always extremely instructive and constructive. The European benches were always looked to for a lead on Budget questions. In later years many business men had developed a political sense and were becoming more and more politically minded, as witness that great Eastern newspaper the *Statesman* of Calcutta, which, from an unfavourable beginning from the Indian point of view, had first of all become discriminately liberal and now was pledged to full Dominion Status for India. That paper had the largest circulation in the country, and it showed that the European community in India were not impervious to the influences that were brought to bear upon them, and that while they were business men first and last they had not entirely ignored the political ques-

tions concerning the development of India, for which he and his countrymen were deeply thankful to them

SIR ALFRED WATSON said that he spoke with diffidence to an audience of business men, since the business man always assumed that a journalist knew nothing of business. As a fact, the director of a large newspaper had probably more intimate contact with labour of varied kinds and more experience of commerce, both wholesale and retail, than had the average business man. In Calcutta he had been at the same time a member of the Chamber of Commerce and of the Trades Association, ranking, if the distinction made by Mr Burton Leach was to be accepted, at one moment with the aristocracy and at another with the bourgeois, and feeling no gulf between the two characters.

Sir Leslie Hudson, it seemed to him, had considerably understated his case in confining himself in the main to the British contribution to commerce and saying little of the industrial pioneers. If India took its place today as the eighth industrial country in the world, that was almost entirely due to the enterprise of British men and to their willingness to risk their capital in new ventures. The commercial man, whether in India or elsewhere in the world, was the true Empire builder, although that fact was commonly ignored. Mr Duff Cooper in his broadcast on Empire Day had shown that he realized that truth. Anything that had penetrated the intelligence of Mr Duff Cooper must have gone deeper than Sir Leslie Hudson supposed.

To himself it was pathetic that at this date those who had served in India should have to explain to their own people what part the Englishman had played in India and what kind of life he lived there. For that the community itself must largely take the blame. There was scarcely a tiny colony of the Empire which had not in this country some organ of its own explaining to the people of England what it was doing. India was immeasurably more important, yet every effort to start a paper devoted to Indian interests had failed for lack of support from the business community. The idea of such an organ had been in his mind for years, but when he had broached the matter to business men, with few exceptions, of which their Chairman today was one, they had treated the matter as if it were the proposal of an impecunious journalist seeking a job.

The people of England had to be made to understand what India meant in the economy of the world. In this matter there could be no separation between business and politics, the two touched at a thousand points, and, in the long negotiations in the future, to suppose that the interests of business could be ignored was absurd. He said that not in the interests of the business man in India. There was at stake the livelihood of hundreds of thousands in this country.

Mr HUGH MOLSON, M.P., said that it was exceedingly appropriate, in view of the Bishop of Calcutta's remarks, to have had this paper before the East India Association in order to put the matter in true perspective. No paper could have been better. There was a substratum of truth in what the Bishop had said, but it arose out of the circumstances of the case and out of the peculiarities of the British people, who were, on the whole, somewhat exclusive and standoffish. That was the general opinion in the British Dominions and in foreign countries. Surely everyone had heard an Englishman reply to his hostess's question whether he had had a comfortable journey down "Oh yes, I had a compartment to myself all the way!" Who had not been sitting alone in a railway compartment and seen other travellers come along the train, look in, and having seen him, go off to find another compartment as though seeking to avoid contagion? It was this lack of friendliness, which Americans and Canadians in particular noted, which was also responsible for the alleged exclusiveness of the British community in India. Their Hindu friends were in some respects themselves to blame, they started the caste system, and their imitative English brethren had set up a caste system of their own. The I.C.S. were the Brahmins, heaven-born if not twice-born. There were numbers of other examples where the effect upon the British community in India was that they set up for themselves a caste system similar to that of the Hindus. It was unfortunate that the general policy of European business men in the legislatures had been to confine their attention almost entirely to financial and busi-

ness matters. No doubt they desired to limit their speeches to subjects with which they were familiar, but this had given to Indians the feeling that they were only interested in preserving their financial interests and not in social reforms which Indians were trying to bring about.

The excellent work done by the European community had generally been done by a minority of the individuals and firms out there. In had been a case of willing horses doing all the work. In the post war conditions he was sure it would be necessary for the European business community in India to alter its outlook very radically. He had felt for a long time that the greatest security that British commerce and industry could enjoy would come from mixing it completely with Indian capital and industry and commerce. In the past it had made itself liable to attack because it had tended to be segregated into different chambers of commerce from Indian commerce and industry. In the years to come he hoped that British enterprise would continue to be of inestimable value to the economic and industrial development of India and that its past would be followed by a future equally valuable and honourable.

Mr A H BYRAT said an undue atmosphere of gloom seemed to pervade discussions of the part played by British business men in India, as though they had done something needing an apology, though, in fact, the contrary was the case. In his belief, the Bishop of Calcutta's remarks had been misinterpreted. The Bishop was not talking politics at all. He was addressing words of counsel, as a pastor, to his flock, urging them always to strive to live more nearly in accordance with their Christian ideals. If it was a question of not mixing enough socially with Indians, it might be remembered that it was Mr Gandhi, and not Englishmen, who invented the social boycott. As for commerce, it was a fact that Indian nationalists of the left wing had steadily fought against British interests for a political reason. In discussions of the Steel Protection Bill in the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1926, and of the Cotton Textile Protection Bill in the Assembly in 1930, the then leader of the Opposition made no bones about that. His position was that as India was a great market she was entitled to ask a price of those who entered it to sell there. He asserted that he was not against imperial preference if it were made worth India's while, but that India should bargain for political concessions in return for it. In face of all this, the attitude of the British business man in India had been one of exemplary patience.

In the Indian Legislative Assembly, the non-official European Group had played a most effective part in helping to lay the foundations of sound Parliamentary traditions. He mentioned the names of Sir Campbell Rhodes, Sir Frank Carter, Sir Montagu Webb, Mr Eardley Norton, Mr W E Crum, Sir Walter Willson, Sir Hugh Cocke, Sir Reginald Spence, Sir Leslie Hudson, and Sir F E James as typical Group members who had shown themselves animated by a spirit of true sportsmanship and comradeship with their Indian fellow-Assemblymen.

There had, he said, in recent years been an enormous spiritual reawakening in Hindu India. There were many manifestations of it. Its origin lay in the influence of Christian missions, which, as such formal records as Census reports made clear, stood forth as lighthouses of the higher life. They could not have exercised that influence if the precepts which they taught had not also been borne out in everyday affairs by the general body of non-official, as well as of official, Brits in India.

Sir WALTER WILLSON said that the paper was a well-balanced one, and there were only two points he wanted to emphasize. One was that the European having gone to India should draw his first increase of pay from the time he passed in the language. He disagreed with the old principle of giving him his increase automatically at the end of twelve months. The man who knew the language might be 50 per cent. better than the man who did not.

The second point was that it was not always the head of a firm who was the best and most natural politician in that firm, nor was it always possible for the head of the firm to spare the time for politics. Some junior might have far more political sense, outlook, and adaptability. There were many good reasons why commercial men in India had not always taken a strong part in politics. He himself happened to be the representative in the Legislative Assembly of the Associated Chambers of Commerce

—seventeen Chambers situated throughout India—and, naturally, the views held in some did not always agree with those held in others, say a difference between Cawnpore and Calcutta or Madras. When he did rise to speak in the Legislative Assembly even Sir Hari Singh Gour would listen to him, not on account of anything personal to himself, but owing to the fact that he represented the Chambers of Commerce and was well informed and advised by them. But if he had gone out of his way to meddle in purely Indian politics he might have made an enemy instead of a friend of Sir Hari Singh. There was a great need for Europeans to take interest in politics because India was tremendously concerned in politics affecting commerce, but he did not think it was always advisable or necessary for the European to enter into purely Indian domestic politics. He had stressed that point in a speech to the Chambers of Commerce, and it went down extremely well.

Captain S. T. BINSTED agreed entirely with Sir Leslie Hudson's paper and thought that the Bishop ought to have known better. When he called to mind names of some of the distinguished men who had come from industry and trade, he felt that the Bishop had done the community a great injustice. He particularly wanted to pay tribute to the younger European business man in India. He was efficient, worked hard, played hard, and thought hard. Inefficiency was not tolerated there, and slackers were immediately sent home. It was from these young men in the past that the leaders had arisen. No doubt the Bishop had found some material for what he said. As had been suggested by a previous speaker, there was far too much snobbery and division between class and class amongst the Europeans. We severely criticized the various Indian caste systems whilst encouraging it within our own community. This snobbery was not so evident in Bombay, simply because there the Indian element had had the command of big business and the European took second place in industrial enterprise. He hoped that young men would be encouraged to go out to India after the war in order to rebuild business and Empire connections by goodwill. It was possible through a common policy of equality, understanding, and tolerance alone that British commerce would progress in future.

SIR GEOFFREY WINTERBOTHAM said that there were no points of criticism to which he felt called upon to reply. It had only to be explained why the Bombay business man was so far superior to his opposite number in Calcutta. Those of them who came from Bombay did not, of course, need any explanation on that point. Mr. Burton Leach had brought in that horrid word 'alien'. In India the British did not regard themselves as aliens, and they claimed the right through the British connection of 150 years with India to be treated on exactly the same footing as Indian citizens. Only in that way could the relations with their Indian fellow subjects be improved.

The Chairman had referred to the paper as a defence of our position in India. But there was no need to defend the position of the British business man in India. They were as proud of their work as were the members of the Indian Civil Service. The curious thing was that it seemed to appeal to a certain section of the British community to run them down on every conceivable occasion. It had been suggested that this was their own fault because they did not have a newspaper setting out for readers at home the views of Indian business circles. But surely the British papers already published in India might have arranged to run at least a weekly journal to this country. He could not think it was the duty of a business community in any country to run a paper to advertise what it was doing there. The foundation of news papers should not be the task of business men. He concluded by saying how greatly Sir Leslie Hudson would appreciate the very kind reception given to his paper, and especially the warm approval of it voiced by Sir Hari Singh Gour.

LORD CATTO, in summing up the discussion from the Chair, said that any criticism had been mainly on the score that the Briton in India did not take his full share in the political life of the country, and in that there might be some truth. But conditions made it difficult. Delhi was a thousand miles away from the great commercial centres. When the heads of the great business houses had mixed business with politics they had often failed in both. Each was a whole-time job. In his own firm

he had made it an invariable rule that the heads of the firm should not engage actively in politics until retirement. But when that time came he had always encouraged them to give some years in India to politics and had tried to make financial arrangements to enable them to do so. He had never interfered in any way with their political views, and he had always maintained his own personal independence on political questions. Politics and business were quite separate matters, and he had impressed on them always that they had the same complete freedom of opinion and action in political affairs as he retained for himself. In that respect he considered that he was carrying on the traditions of the firm of which he had had the honour to be the governing head for nearly a quarter of a century. Sir Hari Singh Gour, in his eloquent and amusing speech, had criticized Britons in Calcutta as not being so politically minded as those in Bombay. But he would like to remind Sir Hari that the founder of his firm—the late Mr. George Yule, a Calcutta man—was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress and was President at the Fourth Congress held at Allahabad from December 26 to 29, 1888, when he delivered an address both thoughtful and eloquent. He wished that he could read to the present audience all of that address, because much of it would be entirely appropriate to the present time. Mr. George Yule never visualized what had since come to be called an 'Indian India', but an India in which the Briton and the Indian would work together for representative government and the economic prosperity of the country. The speaker illustrated this by reading the concluding paragraph of the address delivered more than half a century ago:

Lord Dufferin has had his thoughts too fully occupied with the troubles on the frontier and in Burma to give adequate attention to this question, which is apparent in the mistake he had fallen into regarding our demands. And I for one regret that it had not fallen to his lot to add a new lustre to his name and to establish a further claim upon our regard by promoting a measure such as we advocate—a measure which any statesman might well be proud to be the instrument of carrying, for it is one which (while going a long way, if not the whole way, in calming the present agitation) would draw into closer connection the two extreme branches of the Aryan, the common subjects of the Queen Empress, a measure which would unite England and India, *not by the hard and brittle bonds of arbitrary rule which may snap at any moment but by the flexible and more enduring ligaments of common interests promoted common duties discharged by means of a common service chosen with some regard to the principles of representative government.*

Perhaps, had more heed been taken of Mr. George Yule's views then, there might have been less political trouble throughout the years that had since elapsed.

It only remained for him to thank Sir Leslie Hudson for his timely and interesting paper, and Sir Geoffrey Winterbotham for so eloquently reading it and replying to questions raised in the discussion. In the midst of many anxieties this had been a happy and diverting afternoon.

Lady (FREDERICK) SYKES, in moving a vote of thanks to Sir Leslie Hudson, said that this would have been done by her husband, but he was laid up for a couple of weeks, and he had asked her to congratulate Sir Leslie not only on his paper but on the great work that he had done for the British community in India. She could speak only from experience of Bombay, and a short one at that, but her husband had given her a whole list of examples of social services carried out which illustrated the fine spirit in that city and in the Presidency. She herself had never discovered anything exclusive about the British community in India, but there again, of course, her experience had been confined to Bombay. She wished that Sir Leslie Hudson could have been present in order that he might have appreciated the affection and regard in which they held him. She also thanked Sir Geoffrey Winterbotham for "putting across" the paper so well. They were also grateful to Lord Catto for sparing time to come and preside over the meeting in so masterly a manner.

THE POSITION OF EUROPE IN ASIA*

BY DR H J VAN MOOK

(Netherlands Minister for the Colonies)

It must have happened often in this city that the blast of a bomb shattered the windows of a beautiful and venerable building and otherwise damaged both the façade and the interior. Such a building might well have looked beyond repair in the first chaotic moments after the attack. But I have seen many instances in this city where the explosion only demolished the less durable and massive parts of the building and where, with proper reconstruction, the edifice can and will serve future generations as well as it sheltered people in the past. And in certain cases this reconstruction may not only add to its strength but also to its beauty.

The question before us is whether the work of Europe in Asia has been destroyed by Japanese aggression and rapacity, as if by a direct hit, or whether the strong and valuable parts of the building are still standing and can be reclaimed after the invader has been driven out. I have often heard it said, during the last few months, that Southern and Eastern Asia will never be the same again. This is, of course, a truism. But some of the people who used those words really seemed to imply that all the work achieved during a long and often happy collaboration between European and Asiatic peoples had been lost irretrievably and that such collaboration could never be restored. This, I think, is a dangerous fallacy.

The root of this mode of thinking is in the past, when domination and exploitation were the main, though certainly not the only, motives for the activity of white people in that part of the world. But that period is very much past history and has been replaced by an era of collaboration, in which the Asiatics ceased to be mere subject races and the essential equivalence of men—and certainly of civilized men—was recognized above the differences of colour or creed. In the philosophy of domination, armed supremacy was essential for the ruling race and defeat—even temporary defeat—threatened its foundations. At present, however, the part of the conqueror has been assumed by the Axis Powers, and the United Nations are defending the freedom both of the mother countries and of their dominions across the seas.

The fallacious supposition which I mentioned may find its cause in part in a mistaken comparison with what happened after the Russo-Japanese War. At that time, during the opening year of this century, relations between European and Asiatic peoples were still in a stage of transition, and the victory of an Asiatic people over Russia, of course, made a deep impression on the minds of people for whom European supremacy in war had become something of an axiom. That the subjection of an Asiatic nation, Korea, was the real object of this war remained in the background, the fact that Japanese armies and fleets had been victorious in many battles with one of the Great Powers overshadowed every other fact.

* Based on an address delivered by the author at a private gathering in London.

Korea, moreover, was a distant, secluded, unknown country, and the open annexation did not take place until some years afterwards

Again the Japanese forces have gone forward against European and American nations, again they have been victorious—for the time being. But this war is still going on, and it would be a total negation of its character and its aims if we viewed what has happened in South-Eastern Asia with the despondency of the vanquished. Both the assurance of ultimate victory and the continued and increasing resistance in the occupied territories plead against such an attitude.

The history of China and of Japanese aggression in China clearly illustrates the changing mood of Asia. Although outright appreciation of Japanese achievements may have been scarce in a country which, in its outlying provinces, was the first object of Japanese greed, even after the twenty-one demands internal differences and the abolition of the so-called "unequal treaties" filled the front stage until the late twenties. I have been told by well-informed Chinese that the absence of open Japanese aggression during those years of civil warfare led to the supposition that Japan had no further territorial expansion in mind, at least, not at the expense of China. When, however, the Manchurian "incident" disclosed the real Japanese intentions, the picture changed, and the further Japanese attacks have not only solidified Chinese public opinion, but also have brought China to the side of those freedom-loving nations with whom she had so many minor quarrels between the end of the World War and 1931.

This change of front could be clearly seen in the internal history of the Netherlands Indies. During the years after the Peace of Portsmouth the nationalistic movement among the Indonesians took shape and the evolution of Japan was in many minds. No threat was felt from the north, and as the Indies were not involved in the first World War, Japan could remain in the appreciation of many the outstanding example of a modern and successful Asiatic nation. The fact that in the Netherlands Indies the Japanese had been accorded the same status as the Europeans added strength to this impression.

In the meantime, however, the policy of emancipation in the Netherlands Indies had taken great strides and the ideal of a body politic, in which citizens of different race could have an equal share, began to take practical shape. Even if that policy may have suffered from a certain excess of caution during the post-war years and the first years of world crisis, I do not think that there was much doubt about its sincerity or its feasibility. The problems involved were extremely difficult, but they could be tackled in the atmosphere of decent and efficient government and with a degree of personal liberty unknown before.

Still, the example of Japan, the real character of which was little known, continued to draw the attention and the admiration of the Indonesian intelligentsia. The picture may have been somewhat marred by the conduct and the overbearing attitude of some Japanese residents and by the deprecatory remarks in some Japanese publications, but even that changed when instructions issued from Tokyo, as part of the programme of southward expansion, to be polite and friendly towards the natives. The rape of Manchuria made little impression, the successes of Japanese policy and the

cheapness of Japanese goods were taken as proofs of power and efficiency and general successfulness, without any appreciation of the background of greed and internal tyranny

Even in 1934, when the first economic negotiations were begun in Batavia, the Japanese delegation at first succeeded in creating an atmosphere of good-will towards the native population and in impressing the essential magnanimity of Japan towards its co-Asiatics. But the Japanese are bad psychologists, and even in those early personal contacts they could not quite hide the fact that their goal was the acquisition of Netherlands Indian resources and domination over Indonesian cheap labour. Their personal conduct was far from exemplary, and when the delegation left, it left the thinking Indonesian very much in doubt about the real blessings of the Rising Sun, as made in Japan.

The definite change came rapidly after the Chinese "incident" of 1937. Direct news of Japanese action and Japanese brutality now spread much more quickly than before. It gradually dawned upon the understanding of the better informed that cheap Japanese goods might be all right, but that little Japanese men, following those goods, had other preoccupations than the welfare of the Indonesians. It was widely known that many Japanese shopkeepers and barbers had an astounding capacity for straying into the neighbourhood of defence works and that the avidity of simple clerks and stevedores for statistical data was boundless. It also appeared that Japan was a bad customer and that her promises to buy our products remained just empty promises. Of course, there were always a few people who could be bought by Japanese money, but their number was astonishingly small, if compared with the efforts made. The Indo-Chinese population, of course, had its own reasons to be distrustful.

It is a great and gratifying fact that when war broke out, and even when the Netherlands were invaded, there was not the slightest tendency to look north for help or guidance. This period of the war showed us all, both Hollanders and Indonesians, where we had been slow in building, and great progress was made, with little friction, both in the economic and in the social field. Political changes had to be deferred until the Netherlands should be free again, but the internal development in other directions was much more extensive and important than may have been known in the world at large. I hope to have an opportunity to speak about this development some day in the near future.

If the stability of the Netherlands Indies stood its first test when Germany treacherously attacked Holland, the second test came directly afterwards. Japan sat up and took notice. She must have supposed that only little pressure was needed to open the gates and to flood in peacefully. She was right in the case of Indo-China, why shouldn't she be right with regard to this great and rich part of a much smaller empire?

When the Japanese asked for economic negotiations, we had no reason to refuse. They had, in many respects, violated the existing agreements and many conditions had changed. We had complaints about the treatment of our merchants in Japan and about the Japanese policy of gradually cutting off our trade with China. Why shouldn't we negotiate peacefully?

But when the Japanese delegation came, accompanied by a number of

army and navy officers with an economic turn of mind and headed by a full though diminutive Cabinet Minister, we did not know whether they would present an ultimatum or an economic agenda. They did neither, probably hoping that the mere presence of this impressive crowd would make us sufficiently pliable to accede to any request. Of course, we knew that such an attitude would be suicidal, but the greatest and most heartening experience was in the fact that the whole population, either consciously or instinctively, realized it too. During all those long months of negotiation, when Japan overtly joined the Axis and when time and again an attack in force seemed imminent, public opinion was unwaveringly behind our delegation. When the negotiations were broken off without war, our House of Parliament commended the attitude of the Government without a division. And I shall never forget the feeling of unanimous resolve with which the House greeted me when I had to announce, on July 28, 1941, that the Netherlands Indies had joined the United States and Great Britain in freezing the Japanese assets after the occupation, by Japanese forces, of South Indo-China.

It should be kept in mind, in this respect, that during all those months we had few illusions about the possibility of direct armed assistance and fewer about the military strength of Japan. We were strengthening our defences, but we knew that of the armaments ordered only little had arrived. And I must repeat that the obstinate attitude was not confined to the Dutch population, but spread through all races and classes.

When war came the attitude remained unchanged. Of course there was some expectation of timely aid. But even when the invasion of Java appeared unavoidable, there never was any serious discussion whether our course of action had been wise and whether we should not have temporized as long as Japan did not directly attack us. There was no doubt about the Japanese war aims, and up to the end the nationalist press kept up its anti-Japanese attitude. If there was some pressure in nationalist circles to extend political rights, it was motivated by the commendable argument that the obvious danger should find everybody arrayed for defence as a full and free citizen. There certainly was no political blackmail with an eye on the enemy and little or no fifth column activity.

On the night of March 5, when the fall of Bandoeng appeared a matter of days or hours, I again addressed the House of Parliament on the situation. A rather large crowd had gathered in the temporary assembly hall. The people were serious and heavy-hearted, but there was no recrimination and no defeatism. Everybody seemed convinced of ultimate victory and of a period of fuller development and more complete mutual understanding afterwards.

Now a veil has been drawn over the scene. But I am sure that under the iron heel of the oppressor mutual respect and mutual appreciation will grow among the best representatives of the Indonesians, the Indo-Chinese and the Dutch. They are all friendly and peaceful people at heart, and although many simple people may deem it wise to bow until the storm is past, I am equally sure that the liberation of the Netherlands Indies will disclose many feats of heroism and sacrifice, in which brown and yellow and white stood and suffered for one another.

We Hollanders have come to love these islands as we do our own country. We were building a community that was happy and prosperous and decent. We had brought our science and our civilization without destroying or despising the civilization and the experience we found. Of course there will be changes. For one thing, the Indonesians will feel that they should not be exposed again to the dangers of war and invasion with so few armaments and so little military training. They will claim full partnership in peace after having borne a full partnership in misery. But they will know that it was not a matter of mere policy when all Dutch civil servants remained at their posts by the side of their Indonesian colleagues, and that the Dutch militia did not fight only to defend its vested interests.

I have dwelt on what happened in the Netherlands Indies because this is the part of Asia I know best. But I am sure that the same kind of thing has been happening elsewhere to a greater or lesser degree. Of course, the Japanese successes have created an immense impression, but what about the success of the United Nations once the counter-offensive starts? And how can the Americans and the Filipinos, the British and Australians and Chinese, the Dutch and the Indonesians ever forget that they have been comrades-in-arms, once victory is won?

If we fight for decency and understanding in the relations between peoples, and for that concept of liberty in which personal freedom is harmoniously welded with social and national obligations, it would be criminal to consider that cause as lost with regard to Asia because one misguided Asiatic people succeeded in its first attacks. And I am convinced that—though the victory of our common cause must, of course, be won—the European and American prestige does not and will not rest on the force of arms alone.

THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF SIBERIA AND THE SOVIET FAR EAST

BY PHILIP PANETH

THE industrial might of Soviet Russia attracted the attention of observers of world affairs soon after the First Five-Year Plan was accomplished. Again, in 1935 there was much talk of the industrial orientation of Soviet Russia. The new achievements in the Kuznets Basin have shown that Soviet Russia has always expected an attack from the west, and her wise leaders prepared fortifications all along her western border. The Baltic States, realizing the might of Soviet Russia, concluded treaties of friendship with her, whilst the Western Powers, wilfully or innocently misunderstanding her, left her severely alone. Thus, she was able to devote her whole energies to development in spite of the difficulties of the Tsarist heritage which she had taken over.

The unprovoked attack by the German army in 1941 has proved that a drive to the East still remained a dream of the Prussian General Staff, and the penetration by the Nazis into the industrial centres of Western Russia and the Ukraine has, to a certain extent, been a serious blow to Russia, but the industrialization of the Urals, the Kuzbas in Western Siberia, the Far East (which includes the Maritime Province and the Khabarovsk Region covering the Provinces of Amur, Kamchatka, Lower Amur, Sakhalin and Khabarovsk) and Central Asia area (which includes the Republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhistan, Khirgizia and Kazakhstan) has made it certain that Russia's strength is beyond destruction by either the Germans or the Japanese. The collapse of France showed that her defeat was brought about by the lack of unity between the French democracy and the French *bourgeoisie*. A similar fate can never befall Soviet Russia, for not only is there unity among her people with the spirit of the Union but also the almost unimaginable strength of the Soviet Red Army," who, after six months of warfare, are slowly but relentlessly driving back the mighty German war machine. This was admitted by Lieutenant-Colonel Soldan after Hitler had been compelled to own to his heavy losses in Russia.

But there is another factor besides the Red Army which makes the defeat of Hitler sure. It is the power of resistance of the young and healthy people of the Soviet Union, of whom nature has always demanded great sacrifices. They have the will to withstand hardships far more than the so-called 'civilized' Germans. With the French Revolution the liberation of Europe and the epoch of a new liberalism began, with the Russian Revolution a new world was born in Russia. During my several journeys to Soviet Russia I watched this taking place and her growing strength. In 1917 Tsarist Russia faced disaster, and in the following years, up to 1923, the whole structure of the existing Russian society was destroyed. With the Soviet state and its novel classless society, a new social order was born, and the development of Soviet Russia began.

The first great step in the economic field was the introduction of the First Five Year Plan. This so-called *Piatiletka* aimed at the self-sufficiency of the Soviet Union.

The results and achievements are best expressed in figures. In 1921, before the First Five Year Plan, Russian industrial production was 15 per cent. below the pre-World War figures, yet, six years later, on the eve of the *Piatiletka*, she had reached her former standard, and in the following ten years it was proved that production would rise ninefold on her pre-war level.

But Josef Stalin, aptly named the man of steel, was not satisfied with these figures, and in 1930 he demanded that within the following ten years the Union must make up for the loss of fifty years. Now—more than twelve years since that declaration—the Union has achieved all she set out to do, although the unprovoked attack on her by the Germans has resulted in the occupation of many of her industrial provinces and establishments, many of which have had to be destroyed in order to prevent them being of use to the enemy. But long before this occupation happened a great part of the population and of the war industries had been evacuated and re-established in safe parts of Siberia, and even as far away as the Soviet Far East.

In 1939, the Commissariat for Agriculture announced that 4,350 peasant families had already been moved from Central Soviet Russia to five different districts in Siberia, to Komsomolsk, to the cities and settlements of the Urals area and the Far East to carry out the defence programme of industrialization which had been built up on the principle of self-sufficiency and the use of the vast sources of raw material available in the Far East and Siberia.

The achievements of the Socialist agricultural scheme were striking. In 1939, Vice-Commissar A. N. Voznesensky, of the Council of the People's Commissars of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, analysed the census taken that year. (This is the latest census which is available.) He stated that "in 1926-27, the USSR produced 377,880,000 bushels of grain for the market, of which 22,680,000 bushels were produced by the state and collective farms, 75,600,000 bushels by the *kulaks* and 279,600,000 bushels by the middle and poor peasants. But," he continued, "as a result of the victory of Socialism in the village, USSR agriculture produced 1,338,000,000 bushels of grain for the market in 1938-39, of which the state farms contributed 147,000,000 bushels, the collective farms 1,188,000,000 bushels

and the individual peasants 3,000,000 bushels. While the total crop of raw cotton amounted to 537,000 tons in 1926, it rose in 1938, on the basis of collective farming, to 2,787,000 tons.

Although I could say much about what I witnessed of the building of collective farms, industrial centres, etc., I will confine myself to facts and figures inasmuch as they apply to the industrial and agricultural development of Siberia and the Far East and how far the war has affected their total potentiality.

The Ukraine, known to the Germans as the "granary," has always been coveted by them, and in the last war, when they occupied the country, they confiscated all the harvest and the stores of grain. But since then the Ukraine has also become an important industrial centre. By the way, "Ukraine" means in Russian 'borderland'.

With the withdrawal of the Red Army came the announcement of the "scorched earth" policy. Years of work and achievement were destroyed in a few minutes. Power plants, dams and whole industrial areas were destroyed. But again Soviet Russia has proved that even this self-destruction and the devastation by the enemy cannot stop her immense industrial policy.

While the temporary Russo-German agreement of collaboration was in force, Soviet Russia, who never trusted the Germans, was evacuating the civilian population from the areas most likely to be the first attacked. In July, 1939, *Pravda* stated:

They have gone to the south, north and east of the country. They go to build roads, mine gold and coal, and to plough the virgin soil. They were destined to become the pioneers of the Soviet efficiency cult.

The U.S.S.R. is the largest country in the world, being more than twice the size of China, which is itself greater than the United States, including Alaska and her other possessions. It covers one sixth of the land surface of the world and has a population of 170,467,186, which is greater than that of U.S.A. and Canada together, 140,000,000 of her inhabitants are in Europe, which is twice the population of Germany. It will thus be seen that the U.S.S.R. is one of the most important factors in the Allied cause in this war.

The period of peaceful reconstruction ended in 1941. The war, said Josef Stalin on November 6, 1941, to the Moscow Soviet on the occasion of the twenty fourth anniversary of the revolution, has thus become a turning point in the development of our country. For the past year the war has considerably curtailed, and in certain spheres altogether stopped, our peaceful constructive work. It has forced us to reorganize all our work on a war time basis. It has converted our land into a united rear serving the front, serving our Red Army and Navy. The period of our peaceful construction has ended, the period of the war for liberation against the German invaders has begun. He then summed up the results of the war and spoke of the resistance of the Red Army. Far removed from the vulnerable Ukraine, heavy industries have been built up according to plans which are independent of the western regions, and their output is sufficient to supply the needs of the whole of the remaining territory. The German armies are still more than a thousand miles from the Ural Mountains, the western fringe of the vast area of Siberia, Soviet Central Asia and the Soviet Far East.

Sverdlovsk is the administrative centre of the Urals and its normal population was 140,000. The latest figures show that this has risen to 425,000 inhabitants, most of whom are employed in the factories which are turning out war material. The Ural Mashzavod, the heavy machine building plant, is the largest of its kind in the world. Within a radius of fifty miles are the important metallurgical, engineering and chemical factories such as the blast furnaces and steelworks at Nizhne-Issetzku and Nizhne-Sergy. Then there are the huge copper smelting works at Revda, which are able to produce more copper than Germany's whole output. There are others at Pyshma, Polevskoy and Asbest. Nizhny Tagil, its population having increased from 40,000 to 160,000, is the centre for rolling-stock construction, and there are also huge rolling mills here. Southwards, in Kamensk-Uralsky, are the giant Ural aluminium smelting works, and it is here that many skilled workers from the Dniepr and Volkhov aluminium plants have been evacuated. In Chelyabinsk, the machine tool factories and the tractor plants are now turning out the tanks with which the Red Army has broken through the German winter lines. Magnitogorsk (that town of

miracles) is producing more than half the Ural output of rolled steel Berezniki, with the enormous Solitamsk potash deposits and the phosphorite mines of the Kurov provinces which are adjoining, is producing fertilizers, phosphates and potash products which deserve to be mentioned

Beyond the Urals many new industrial centres have been created The Kuznetsk mining and industrial district has, according to the planned economy, reached a stage of expansion which is beyond all superlatives For example, Stalinsk in 1926 had a population of 4,000, but at the outbreak of the present war this had risen to 170,000

The settlements in the Far East have received many thousands of peasants who were moved from the more populous farm regions in 1939 They went to Komsomolsk, Khabarovsk and to Ussuri Skilled technicians went out from the Moscow regions to work on the Central Asian Railway at Akmolinsk Kartali, workers have been sent from the western regions of the U S S R to work on the new copper mines in Central Asia and in the eastern coal mines Red Army soldiers were released, after receiving their training, to settle on farms or at the works which were to carry out the general programme of economic reconstruction, industrialization and defence of the Union, particularly was this so in the Far East, as the U S S R realized that should they have to fight the Nazis or the Japanese, Siberia would have to be an independent economic base and the backbone of the defence of the Union

The territories of the Eastern Soviet Union are economic bases of importance in the defence of the Far East These comprise the Far Eastern *Kras*, the West Siberian *Kras*, Buryat Mongolia, Yakutia, and the Jewish Autonomous Oblast, with a total population of 17 million inhabitants Unfortunately, the Third Five Year Plan could not cover the entire industrialization of these territories

There is still a lack of good communications, although the centres of Siberia are linked up by air with the Far Eastern Republics and even with Kamchatka and Sakhalin Goods are carried eastwards by the Trans-Siberian Railway, but most of the trucks return empty The enormous natural resources of water power would allow for the development of great industries The hydro-electric power station on the Baikal Lake near Irkutsk is supplying the new industries in East Siberia, Yakutia, and the so-called Far Eastern *Kras* Buryat Mongolia contains the world's largest deposits of wolfram, which is essential in modern warfare, but there are still unworked deposits of coal, graphite, and iron-ore With the exception of a small quantity of coal, gold, and oil, the tremendous mineral wealth of the east cannot be exploited yet because of the lack of population, communications, and climatic conditions

The world's largest rivers flow through Siberia, but the Amur River is only navigable for three months, while Lake Baikal is used more for the purpose of serving Mongolian trade The northern sea route is linked up through the Yenisei with the Trans-Siberian Railway, but the river communications are still very poor In modern warfare good communications are essential for supplies and reinforcements It is essential also for the Allied aid to come to China via the U S S R, as the main port of Archangel is too small and insufficient for American use There are efforts to secure the defence bases of the Far Eastern territories in the case of a war with Japan Since the United States became a belligerent Power, American oil tankers can no longer reach Vladivostok

There are many large factories which will all be of the greatest assistance to the Eastern Soviet Union in her defence and development—the aircraft factories in Irkutsk, the armament works at Komsomolsk, Stalinsk, and Irkutsk, the locomotive works at Stalinsk and Ulan Ude (one of the greatest of the Soviet Union), the tank factory of Krasnoyarsk, now switched over for war production, the dockyards of Komsomolsk, and the synthetic oil efforts in Kemerovo, Krasnoyarsk, and Chermakovo, where synthetic rubber is also produced on a small scale Economic planning will have to be carried out a great deal in the very near future

Within the last twenty-three years Soviet Russia has undergone an amazing transformation Economically, socially and psychologically she has created a new Russian nation Given due warning she could have built up the largest military power the world has ever seen, but the swiftness of the attack by the German Army

and its superior equipment, backed up by its industrial might, allowed the invaders for a time to overrun large areas of the country. Germany had overlooked, however, the spirit of the Russian people.

But however great that spirit is, Soviet Russia needs the help of Great Britain and the U.S.A. The industrialization programme has made it possible for the Red Army to carry on the fight of resistance against tremendous odds, but she will not be able to carry on for ever without our help.

The much publicized workers, at first called "Udarniki" and later on "Stakhanovites," after Comrade Stakhanov, who set the Russian workers a great example of increasing output, have contributed greatly to the planned defence principles and economic expansion which required the reconstruction of the railroad system and the construction of canals, making use of the large navigable rivers, the establishing of life lines in the air and the exploiting of the coal resources, water-power and electricity. All this was done to increase the output and wealth of the Union and so raise social conditions.

For instance, compare pre-war conditions in 1936 with those of 1913. In world production in 1913 Russia took fifth place in industrial output, in 1936 she had risen to second place. In machine building she rose from fourth to second and in agricultural machine building from fifth to first place, in electricity from the fifteenth to the third, in superphosphates from the sixteenth to the third, and in gold production from the fourth to the second place. In 1913 the Russian Empire produced 29,100,000 metric tons of coal, the U.S.S.R. in 1936 mined 164,000,000 tons. Steel production jumped from 4,200,000 tons to 18,400,000 tons, rolled steel from 3,500,000 to 12,800,000 tons, aluminium from zero to 80,000 tons in 1937, automobiles from zero to 220,000 and tractors from zero to 172,000 in 1937.

It must be borne in mind that before the revolution Russia was essentially an agricultural country, but within ten years under the Union it became a great industrial power. In 1913 the industrial production of Russia was but a fifth of the British, whereas in 1937 her production was 50 per cent greater than this country. It is possible for her to increase her 1937 output six times over. The Second Five Year Plan, as we know, has created new industrial areas in the interior in consideration of the needs of national defence. The Third Five Year Plan has reinforced these industrial centres which are far removed from the present war front. This plan (1937-1942) included the investment of 192,000,000,000 roubles. From the total capital which has been invested in the Ukraine (where the metallurgical industry was concentrated fifteen years ago), White Russia has received 36,200,000,000 roubles, Central Russia 40,000,000,000 roubles, while the greater half of the rest went to further the development of industry in the Volga region—Siberia, Central Asia and the Caucasus. The drive began in February, 1940, and during 1941, 1,576 new factories were opened, 2,213 new enterprises were well on the way to being finished and 742 factories were enlarged.

East of the Volga the second Baku oilfields are being developed, and this year they should reach the output attained by Baku in 1913.

All these transformations would never have been possible without an enlarged transport system, which has during this war rendered further valuable service in carrying millions of refugees and evacuees from the war zones and occupied territories. Even allowing for our gallant allies having to withdraw east of the Upper Volga, they would still have at their disposal the wealth and industries of the Urals, as well as all the great resources of the rest of Siberia, including Kazakhstan, which provides 16 per cent of the Urals' need for copper and 85 per cent of the Union's production of lead. In 1938 the mines of Western Siberia, the Urals and Kazakhstan produced 27.3 per cent of the Union's total coal output, and Eastern Siberia and the Far East about another 6 per cent. It is true, however, that the Ukraine's production of iron ore is 63 per cent of the Union's total, as against the Urals' 29.2 per cent. The Ural-Kuznets metallurgical combine in 1938 produced 26 per cent of the Union's pig-iron and some 28 per cent of the steel. In Kazakhstan there are also deposits of wolfram, tin, antimony, mercury, cassiterite, cobalt and nickel. Trans-Baikalia is one of the richest regions of "potential" minerals of the U.S.S.R., and at Dzhdza, on the borders of Buryat-Mongolia, the autonomous republic, whose capital

is Ulan Ude, the Mongolian Republic Tungsten Combines are being organized and will exploit the largest tungsten deposits in the U S S R

The weak spot is good coking coal, which is vital to the manufacture of pig-iron, and the development of the important coking-chemical industries is severely handicapped. Another weakness lies in machine supplies and the production of mass-consumption goods. The decentralization of heavy industry from the Ukraine and the Urals has only been partially accomplished in spite of the great promise of the Urals' capacity, and therefore the heavy industry, although it has made great strides in the last twelve years, is still handicapped by a severe shortage of semi-manufactured metal materials, such as pig-iron and billets for the manufacture of steel. There is, in consequence, according to reports in June, 1941, a large surplus of rolled metal which is now exported to other parts of the Union. As there is no production of general-purpose steel it is still imported from the southern plants, but industrial shops are under construction, and since these reports there has been further news of good achievements and results in spite of the difficulties.

The distance from Moscow to Vladivostok is 5,000 miles, and to the Urals 1,000 miles. The area of the U S S R is 8,220,000 square miles (8,340,000 square miles with her territorial gains in 1939 and 1940), of which 2,000,000 are in Europe and 6,200,000 in Asia. Siberia became the Soviet Far East "citadel of an embattled commonwealth" with an exceptional strategic significance and is the natural vital link with the U S A. The Far Eastern littoral is no longer a wilderness, but a self-supporting industrial and military stronghold where the Far Eastern forces on land, sea and air may soon have to face an attempt at invasion by the Japanese. The Northern and Pacific fleets will have the support of the Amur River flotilla to strike against the Japanese fleet, which has been a threat to American supplies to Russia since Germany stabbed her in the back.

Japan may strike against Vladivostok from the Sea of Japan or Manchukuo to threaten Khabarovsk, Komsomolsk or Nikolayevsk, or she may invade the northern half of the Island of Sakhalin, the Kamchatka Peninsula or the Far Eastern territories. Since 1933, the U S S R has been preparing for a two-front war and has made the necessary preparations. From Mongolia, China, Afghanistan, India or Turkey the U S S R has no fear of attack, but the Japanese may try to gain the coking coal and ore deposits on the Amur River which supplies the smelting works and dockyards of Vladivostok. Should Japan extend her battlefield, one thing is certain, it is that the U S S R will carry on her heroic fight, and it is also certain that her war industries in the Urals, Siberia and Central Asia will, as in the Far East, enable her to continue this great struggle against her enemies.

WAR EFFORT OF INDIAN STATES

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

VARIOUS and valuable have been the contributions made by the Indian States to the war effort. As official acknowledgments have frequently testified, the States have vied with each other in their offers of men, money and material assistance, while their industrial establishments have made an ever-expanding contribution to India's increasing and widening output of munitions.

In British India the initial opposition of the Congress Party to India's active participation in the struggle against Nazi aggression hindered the full development of India's war potential to a greater degree than is generally realized. Contrariwise, in the Indian States, no comparable impedimenta have emerged, either in the form of political unrest or of an ambiguous attitude in regard to the Allied cause. The Princes, and the overwhelming majority of their subjects, were never in any doubt where their interest as well as their duty lay, and they have shaped their activities accordingly. If therefore the material contribution made by the States to India's war effort has been considerable, their moral leadership has been invaluable, and should

not be forgotten when—the Allies having overcome their enemies—a final assessment is made of India's contribution to the preservation of the Commonwealth and the restoration of international peace

As memories are short, it may be pertinent to recall that at a period when the most powerful political party in British India was pursuing an unhelpful course, the Indian Princes met (in March, 1941) and made a declaration of their united support in the war, the declaration carrying behind it the strength of their entire resources and the unshakable determination of their ninety million subjects. It said

"The Chamber of Princes requests His Excellency the Crown Representative kindly to place before His Imperial Majesty, the King Emperor, the firm determination of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India to render every possible assistance in men, money and material to His Imperial Majesty and His Government in their heroic struggle for upholding the cause of justice and for maintaining the sacredness of Treaties and Covenants, and prays that the united efforts of the Empire and the Allies may lead to the early and triumphant vindication of the high principles for which His Imperial Majesty has been forced to take up arms against the enemies "

During nearly three years of war, as the Government of India have gratefully acknowledged, the Rulers of the Indian States and their subjects have spared neither money nor effort in carrying out the spirit of this resolution. Substantial sums of money have come from the States, large and small. Of these generous gifts, a number were offers of material, such as the provision of aircraft, ambulance cars, motor-cars, armoured cars, trawlers, minesweepers, tugs, nautical instruments, rolling stock, mineral resources, forest products, *biris*, soaps and blankets for troops, palaces and houses for Government departments, technical training centres, etc., and utilization of State workshops for the manufacture of munitions, landing grounds for aircraft, and general co-operation in the training of pilots and mechanics for the Indian Air Force. More recent figures are not available, but out of the total contribution of Rs 5½ crores to Indian war funds up to the end of October, 1941, the direct contribution of the Indian States (containing about one fourth of the total population) exceeded Rs 2½ crores. This was apart from recurring donations exceeding Rs 36 lakhs. Investments of Indian States and their subjects in interest free bonds and in Defence Loans approximated Rs 2½ crores. This figure not including such investments and contributions as have been effected by State Rulers and their subjects through investments made by their banks and through Defence Saving Certificates in British India.

The premier State has again justified its status and designation of Faithful Ally. The industrial war effort of Hyderabad, under the ægis of the Nizam's State Railway and the Commerce and Industries Department, reached a new level in November, 1941. The former was responsible for the manufacture of a total of 24,056 items of twenty three types during the month. This meant an advance of 5,156 items, or 27.3 per cent, compared with October. Furthermore, the number of items under manufacture during November, contracted for supply, had increased to 398,573, as against 316,053 items of five different types in October. Other contributions under Railway auspices took the form of the continued training of driver mechanics, the manufacture and repair of material for the military authorities, the training of pilots and technicians for the Indian Air Force (the Railway in peace time running also road and air services), recruitment for technical military units and training for railway units, the collection of scrap metal, and A.R.P. and ambulance training. The Commerce and Industries Department, on the other hand, supplied during November 9,741 items of six types manufactured in the P.W.D., in addition to considerable quantities of iron buttons, garments, knives and mosquito netting.

In the last war the industrialization of India was not very far advanced and there were comparatively few specialized factories. In this war, the conditions are very different, and a number of factories often contribute to the manufacture of a single product—each factory concentrating upon those operations to which it is best adapted. For instance, in the last war the Hyderabad Mint made army buttons in large quan-

ties, but today there are plenty of good button factories in India, including Hyderabad, to take up this work, and the Mint is therefore free to concentrate upon work of a more specialized nature. The undertaking of a few specialized operations in a manufacturing process is less "spectacular" than complete manufacture, but it makes for great efficiency.

The Mint is particularly suited to certain aspects of work on non ferrous metals of value in war time. To mention only one example, it was asked to produce very thin copper tape. Initial difficulties were quickly overcome, and no less than 94 miles of such tape have already been made or are in process of manufacture.

In the Electricity Department workshop, on the other hand, a far greater variety of war work is being undertaken owing to the general nature of the works. The commissioning of its workshop more or less coincided with the demand for war production, and, almost since its inception, the workshop has been doing war work side by side with its own normal activities. Two-shift and three shift working has frequently been in force.

A very ambitious undertaking of this Department has been the erection of a small rolling mill and oil furnace, where old scrap railway waggon and motor vehicle springs are heated and rolled down into strips for the production of blades, tin-openers and screw-drivers for the knife factory. This has enabled many tons of scrap metal to be put to very productive purpose. It is claimed that nowhere else in India are steel strips of such thin gauges produced.

The war products of the Electricity Department are many and do not call for enumeration here, but, in addition to this work, it is helping in the training of artisans under the Hyderabad Artisan Training Scheme. Furthermore, the Department is assisting to further the local war effort by producing the power necessary for the operation of factories engaged in war work. The demand for power on the generating station has steadily and rapidly risen in the past two years, and special steps are being taken to meet this need.

Referring to the gravity of the war situation and emphasizing the necessity of women coming forward to co-operate in the civil defence, Her Highness the Princess of Berar, in the course of her inaugural address to the Princess of Berar's Civil Defence Corps for women of Hyderabad State, observed: "As women we must form a united front and co-ordinate all civil defence activities under a single banner. I ask you to join the corps and can offer nothing but work and strenuous work. The path will not be easy and the period of time cannot be defined. There will be no room in this organization for party feelings and personal differences. I shall expect of every single member an unswerving loyalty to the State, rigid adherence to the discipline of the corps and absolute preparedness to carry out its work with courage and endurance under any condition and all circumstances. As for herself, Her Highness said: 'I am prepared to work at any time of the night or day, side by side with the humblest of our volunteers, for the protection of our people and the safety of our State.'

In the course of a message to the All India Oriental Conference, when holding its eleventh session in Hyderabad, His Exalted Highness the Nizam reminded the delegates: "You are meeting at a time when the free nations of the world are struggling against brutal aggression, not only to preserve democracy and freedom, but to defend and safeguard the very foundation of society, culture and civilization. It is all the more incumbent on you to keep alight the torch of Eastern thought, philosophy and religion." Such an exhortation is, of course, singularly opportune at a moment when Japan, in pursuit of insensate ambitions, is seeking to impose her own parvenu culture on nations like India and China, which are her inferiors only in military power, but in no other attribute of civilization. To quote the address delivered by the Nawab of Chattari, President of the Hyderabad Executive Council, at the conference already mentioned:

"The bonds of learning are universal and, in bringing scholars and students of different countries and communities in a common assembly, are an essentially unifying factor. At different times in human history different peoples and civilizations have given and partaken of the best of each other, and the sum total of human knowledge and attainment at the present day represents the collective contributions of nations, great and small, dead and living. In that great common pool the East, and

India in particular, have a considerable share, and we are rightly proud of it. To foster and promote Oriental studies is, therefore, not merely an endeavour to encourage Oriental art, literature and learning, to create a sense of just pride in our past, in our citizenship, so to speak, of the East, or to make us worthy of the great traditions we have inherited by bringing them before our view for our constant inspiration, but also to spread far and wide that unifying influence which imbues the mind with the quality of detachment so necessary for wider understanding and nowhere so emphasized as in the East

'Meeting as you are at this critical juncture in the world's history, when the finer sense of values stands in danger of being dulled by doctrines which treat man as an automaton and brute force as God, when engagements are broken, neighbours turned out of their homes and millions of lives lost merely to satisfy the lust for domination of one man, your deliberations may perhaps lead to a reorientation of the value set on principles which must inevitably lead to conflict, and you may perhaps be able to recall and to instil in minds instead, from study and promotion of Oriental culture, the spiritual values which have throughout the ages characterized the mind and soul of the East'

In other words, India has her own civilization and culture to maintain, and in no part of India are these inherited treasures valued more highly, or upheld more sturdily, than in the States, whose Rulers and peoples appraise Japan's spurious offer to liberate India without any illusions as to its precise significance. The Dewan of Mysore, opening a new machine-tool factory in the State, emphasized anew "how His Highness the Maharaja, His Highness's Government and the people of Mysore have all along been anxious to co-operate to the utmost of their ability in the great effort put forth by Great Britain and her Allies for preserving civilization, peace and happiness to a long suffering world. Hence it is, as indicated more fully in a recent issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, that, as the Dewan noted, all the industrial concerns in this State have placed at the disposal of the Supply Department their entire output. The capacity of these concerns has been enlarged and their programme of manufacture adjusted to the requirements of war supply. Research and experiment are also undertaken to the extent facilities permit, and new products are being manufactured, such as formaldehyde plastics, silkworm guts, parachute cloth, etc. As you are aware, His Highness's Government have given full co-operation and participated in the establishment of the aircraft factory at Bangalore, and the various types of planes built and supplied by this factory are bound to play a part in the prosecution of the war and the defence of our country.

To India, in fact—as indeed to China—Japan's turbulent incursion into the arena of international banditry presents itself, not as a sincere contribution either to material development or political liberation, but as a vulgar and noisy interruption to orderly progress which it is necessary to resist and repress, whatever the cost.

TALES OF MY GRANDFATHER

By JOHN KAVANAGH

PART III

PREVIOUS portions of this memoir of my grandfather, Sir David Davidson, K.C.B., have appeared in the October, 1940, and April, 1941, numbers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*. The regrettable delay which has since occurred is due in great part to the writer's serious illness and not to light mindedness or a neglect of pious duty. For a pious duty it is to crumble earth upon the resting place of the mighty, forgotten dead.

Sir David Davidson was born in 1811 and died in 1900. His life corresponded,

therefore, with that period in the history of the white races in which they grew, first great, and finally invincible, so far as the animal kingdom and the non-white human races were concerned. In the ultimate analysis this irresistible strength was due solely and entirely to their machines.

Among these mechanical contrivances, pride of place must be and is rightly granted to the twin inventions, which were my grandfather's, of the gyroscopic projectile and of the telescopic sight, without which neither rifle nor machine gun, nor modern artillery could have come into existence.

And now to gather together a few illuminating aspects of Sir David's residence in India. The first and most interesting of these is, without doubt, Sir David's long and enduring friendship with the man, that *grand chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, who was destined to become Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram, and who, after a career of the most honourable public service, was to find a fit resting place in Westminster Abbey, side by side with the gallant Lord Clyde.

This is not to say that it was an easy friendship between the two men. Far from that. In my young days it was the custom among schoolboys at certain seasons to play with spinning tops. With the help of a piece of string each top was projected with velocity into a circle where already revolved a rival top. The two then revolved, as it seemed, warily round one another, like pugilists in a ring. A mysterious attraction drew them, but if they came too close, with what violence were they flung apart.

Not that the two men quarrelled, or even admitted overtly any serious difference of opinion. Far from it. But both, in their different ways, were men of genius, and both were Southron Scots. That, to those who know the race, is surely enough, but to those who do not I shall content myself with recalling the old story of Sir David Baird, who, with other British officers, was confined in spacious vaults beneath the palace at Seringapatam. Rumour had it that the officers were chained together in couples, and when the news reached Sir David's home at Prestonpans, his old nurse is said to have remarked "Guid keep the loon that's chainit tae oor Dauvit!" As a matter of fact, Sir David Baird, apart from his *furor Caledonicus*, was a first-class officer and a fine Scottish gentleman to boot, and I have no doubt that his fellow chainsman, if any, was a favoured individual. Nevertheless!

Our own Dauvit's description of his first meeting with Captain James Outram is interesting. 'Somewhat unexpectedly I found myself at the mess sitting opposite a man whose face made a great impression upon me. A fine, high, white forehead, which had been protected from the sun that had deeply tanned the lower part of the face, straight nose, heavy brown moustache, somewhat pouting underlip, and firm, well-developed chin, formed the general features, but what struck me most was a peculiar eye. It seemed to search you to the core. His dark hair hung down below the collar of his coat, the lower half bleached by the sun, from which it sheltered his neck. Many years afterward Major Bagnold (a mutual friend), having taken a trip home after thirty-six years' continuous residence in India, was on board a steamer on one of our Scottish lakes. On the deck of the steamer was a lady whose eye struck him as something he was quite familiar with. While she was speaking to someone, he heard her use the words, 'My son James'. This was enough for Bagnold. He immediately said, 'Madam, you must be the mother of my old friend, and at one time my adjutant, James Outram!' He had hit the mark, that eye, which he had got from his mother, was enough, for Bagnold had never seen its match."

The great tie of friendship between James and David was undoubtedly their deep common interest in the more hazardous forms of big game hunting, as also pig-sticking and other dangerous sports which abounded in those times in India. Outram himself was, of course, a man totally devoid of personal fear, and I do not suppose that my grandfather fell far behind him in that respect. The following is a typical adventure of the redoubtable couple.

In the evening we took a stroll with our guns. We had not gone far before a hyena bolted, which I killed with a shot from my double Haddington. As the others did not wait for me, I, loading in a hurry, put down a ball without powder. As I was hastening after the party, I heard a noise from below, and, looking over the edge of the rock, I saw a bear climbing up. I fired my remaining shot into his eye when within three feet of the muzzle of my gun, and paused a moment, expecting

to see him roll over. Instead of that, up he came, so I took to my heels, thinking my friends in front might as well share in the adventure. Two shots were fired, but the bear followed me so closely there was danger of hitting me, so the bear was missed.

To avoid the bear, I was twisting round a tree, when I tripped and fell. I felt the hair of the beast uncomfortably near, when a shot was fired, and over went the bear, quite dead. When I got up and shook myself, Outram, who had fired the shot, said he was glad to see me sound upon my limbs, as he was not quite sure, when he pulled the trigger, whether he could quite clear my leg."

Another adventure, surely in the best Hollywood manner, or even better. "I occupied a seat with Outram on Hyder (Hyder Ali, a well known elephant of the period), and, as Hyder was the best climber, we were to ascend the hill. As we moved towards it, Outram pointed out to me a steep slope down which he once rolled in the embrace of a panther, which he managed to shoot with his pistol, but not before it had left some marks, which were still visible. Their objective was a cave on the top of a hill, said to be occupied by a tiger. 'It was a great scramble up the side of the hill, and when we got up there was just a stone or two below the hole on which Hyder could get a footing. Outram whispered to me, 'If Hyder's not steady, we are dead men. But Hyder proved steady as a rock.' Crackers were thrown into the cave, whereupon out bounded, not a tiger, but a fine leopard, which was shot in mid air by David. People who do this kind of thing together are likely to become friends.

Yet another thumbnail portrait of Outram. The tiger after being wounded broke away, and was followed to a great distance by Bheel trackers. At last the pugs failed, and it was thought he might have taken refuge in a hole in the face of a rock, some ten or twelve feet from the ground. As a tree grew opposite the hole, Outram mounted it, and was peering in, when the branch broke, and down he came, breaking the stock of his gun and bruising his face pretty severely. It was now sunset, and

I was obliged to leave at this interesting moment, when Outram, with his face bleeding, was rushing about like a bull terrier after a fight, determined to find the tiger, and this was the last I saw of him in the hunting field."

Outram himself was, of course, no mean diplomat, as my grandfather duly notes.

Outram had to receive some Bheel chiefs. He did so with as much courtesy as if the half naked chieftains had been princes of royal blood. And no doubt, if all could be known, they were! For the Bheels are a remnant of some exceedingly ancient race, perhaps one of the oldest that even India holds. And that says much. It was Outram who was first responsible for reclaiming the aboriginal Bheels from the abject condition of outlawry into which they had fallen. Robbers and marauders by natural descent, for long their hand was against every man, and every man's hand was against them. Hunting, varied by marauding and cattle lifting, was their normal trade. There was something fine, my grandfather says, about them, too. They were the Rob Roy's of India, and for a long time levied blackmail from the inhabitants of the open country. Proscribed by Government, and hunted down, they were killed by hundreds, but they were never subdued. At length a wiser and more humane policy was practised towards them. The result is that, formed into an excellent police, a body of them are thus transformed into faithful servants of the State. The main instrument in effecting this change was Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram. He found the Bheels in a state of open rebellion. With the help of a detachment from his own regiment, he attacked and routed them in one of their hill fastnesses which they thought impregnable. Having thus proved himself to be no ordinary foe, he changed his tactics, and went among them unattended, confidently and as a friend. He interested himself in what interested them, engaged them in their favourite occupations of the chase, and, showing his own prowess, won their hearts. By a true though untutored instinct, they came to understand the man, and accepted him as their leader and friend. Accompanied by their wives and children, they followed him from place to place, as if he had been their hereditary chief. Nor was this attachment confined to one side. While these hardy mountaineers revered and loved their conqueror, he also loved and respected them. He saw in their rugged natures the elements of much that was true and noble, much that was kindred to the true and noble of his own character. And we have here, adds my grandfather, "a

great and practical lesson which our rulers in India and Burmah would do well to ponder over and improve. We may subjugate for a time by the overwhelming valour of our troops, but we can attain to a real and enduring peace only through the affections of the people."

And now for an historical example of that legendary phenomenon—namely, the impact of an irresistible force upon an immovable body, or, in other words, a battle royal between our Dauvit and James Outram. Personally, I may remark, I think the story redounds admirably to the credit, not only of Dauvit but of James.

'We had not been long together,' says my grandfather, before Outram attacked me on my 'new fangled notions about religion. During the days we were thrown together, we had many a battle on the subject, and I dare say we each claimed to come off with the best of it. I must say he took the hardest things I said in good part, and I doubt not he gave me credit for a sincere desire for his welfare. At the same time, he resisted the truth with determined, and, as it seemed, honest unbelief. I must not omit one incident in connection with these friendly contests. I had been pressing him somewhat earnestly when he turned to another officer, who was listening, and said, 'Why don't you take him up?' 'Why, the truth is, I am very much of Davidson's opinion.' 'Are you?' said Outram. 'If I were, I would live a very different life from what you do!' It will now, perhaps, be seen how it came about that the two spinning tops of my fable succeeded always in remaining such firm friends.

It was Outram who was responsible, in some real measure at least, for what was to prove perhaps the most outstanding, as it was certainly the most congenial, turning point in my grandfather's Indian career. This was a change-over from military duties to the then all important revenue service. The circumstances attending this alteration are not without an interest of their own. 'We marched,' says my grandfather, through a beautiful country, and over the Ram Ghaut to Vingorla, where we were crowded into pattumars, the small but swift sailing boats of the western coast. The wind not favouring us, we had a somewhat tedious voyage up the coast. An adverse wind caused my boat and another to put into the mouth of the Taptec, near Surat. We beat up the quarters of the nearest officer, pleaded the short commons we had been on for several days, and made a considerable hole in his roast beef. Taking again to sea, I overtook the boat of the second officer, who had got hold of the latest Government Gazette, and, to my surprise, I found my name in orders as one of six officers selected for special civil service.

When I read the Gazette, I was reminded of what the native adjutant had said to me about a year before. He said, 'You will not be long with the regiment. I have noticed through a long service that when we come to know an officer well, and he to know us, he is taken off for some staff appointment, and we never see him more.' I had heard there was to be a selection made of officers for a proposed Revenue Survey, and I had been told if an offer was made to me not to refuse. But it took no hold of my mind, so that the appointment took me by surprise. It had been a kind of maxim with me as a soldier to ask nothing and refuse nothing, so my nomination without being consulted settled the matter in a way that was quite satisfactory to me. I shall never forget the feeling evinced by the sepoys when I said a few words to them before dismissing my last parade, or that of the native officers, who, after falling out, met me to say farewell. There was not a dry eye among them, and the orderly who came from the new adjutant, with the regimental order-book, containing a complimentary notice of my service, was blubbing like a child.

It so chanced that Captain Outram and another officer arrived at Tankaria Bunder, the place of debarkation, just as David Davidson was leaving. As the party were all bound for Bombay, David took them on board his boat. When Outram learnt of my grandfather's destination, he took from among his papers notes of a correspondence between him and the Governor, Sir Robert Grant, showing that "having been consulted as to the selection of officers for this new measure, he had sent in my name, so that I was surprised and gratified to find I was the nominee of such a man."

(To be continued)

A SCOTTISH ADMIRER OF OTTOMAN POETRY

E J W GIBB

BY SIDNEY BALISTER

ELIAS JOHN WILKINSON GIBB was born at Glasgow on June 3, 1857. From an early age linguistic studies attracted him. There is no reliable evidence as to the origin of his passion for the languages of the Orient, but there seems to be some ground for believing that he, as in the case of so many other Orientalists, was first attracted by the fascination of the *Arabian Nights*. In any case, his proficiency in Ottoman Turkish was so great that at the age of twenty-one he attracted the attention of Sir James Redhouse, who was at the time engaged on his monumental work in the seclusion of his house at Kilburn. Redhouse, from the fact of his most extensive acquaintance with Turkey at first hand, was no doubt able to give Gibb, the more academic scholar, many very valuable suggestions, which Gibb, had he lived to see the completion of his history, would, beyond doubt, have acknowledged. Unfortunately, he died before the work had left the press, and it was entrusted to his friend and colleague, Edward G. Browne, to bring the *History of Ottoman Poetry* from the press and put it before the public.

In his introduction, in which he explains his part as literary executor, Browne writes:

The author of this book, that amiable and generous scholar, equal in modesty and in learning, whose premature death it has been my sad duty to chronicle. The record of his life is a record of intellectual achievement. It is the life of a scholar wholly devoted to the branch of learning in which he has attained pre-eminence. After his marriage, which took place in 1889 (at the age of thirty-two), he resided almost entirely in London where, surrounded by his rare books and precious manuscripts, he was ever accessible to all those who were interested in the history, literature, languages and thought of Western Asia.

In this passage there is a striking fact revealed almost by accident. Gibb was never in Turkey! His was the work of a student seated at his desk and drawing his knowledge from books and manuscripts. In view of this, the achievement that stands to his name is all the more remarkable. The *Ottoman Poetry* was his last and greatest work, but he had published others—a translation of the *Ta'at-i Tevarikh* and a volume entitled *Ottoman Poems translated into English Verse in the Original Forms*. These works were not original inasmuch as Gibb was working upon a body of material that already existed, although at that time there was nothing, or very little more than nothing, in English to help him, and the subject was very generally neglected by the scholars of the day. In the *History of Ottoman Poetry*, however, he embarked upon a work that was original and breath taking in its immensity. It was nothing less than an attempt to recount the history of the poetry of the Ottomans and such of their historical background as might be necessary for the proper understanding of the poetry, together with many translations of the poems themselves, so that those ignorant of Turkish or Persian or Arabic, from which much of it is drawn, could, notwithstanding, read, enjoy and, more than all, understand the verses of the Turks, their ways of thought, and their modes of expression.

Such a work could not have been attempted by one whose scholarship and whose diligent application to the most minute detail of textual criticism were not of a very high order, still less could it have been completed successfully unless the author had a very real sympathy with the people from whom it derived and their modern language. Gibb was not of those who revel in an ancient language and despise its modern descendant because it has lost its inflections, simplified its grammar, or borrowed words from other languages. Such an outlook is perhaps understandable, but hardly intelligent. Very little would be thought of an Asiatic student who studied English but left off his studies at the Norman Conquest and despised the later works of Chaucer and Shakespeare, Tennyson and Bernard Shaw. Gibb realized to the full that a language is a living thing, and that, though its later forms

PLATE I



I J W CIBBIN TURKISH UNIFORM

may be substantially different from its earlier beginnings, it is still the same language. A proper study of the past can only be rounded off by an equally detailed study of the present. Thus it is that he begins with the very beginnings of Turkish poetry, before even the consolidation of the old empire of the Ottomans, and continues his researches down to the day of his death. And throughout all his work we can see signs of that sympathy and understanding that were the keystones of his life and work. He both liked and understood the Turks, he believed thoroughly in their sterling qualities and was thoroughly convinced of their potentialities.

How complete was his mastery of the language is shown by one of the obituary notices that appeared in a Turkish paper called *Osmanlı* (December 15, 1901), wherein the writer, who signed himself 'A Turkish Resident in London,' expressed himself in the following words:

'Neither in the Ottoman Empire nor amongst Orientalists of Europe does anyone exist who has more profoundly studied the Ottoman language and literature than he.'

"My chief purpose," wrote Gibb himself, in writing his *History*, "is not to supply Orientalists with a sketch of the development of Ottoman poetry, but to place within reach of English readers some account of a literature which has as yet hardly been touched upon by any language." He goes on:

In order to assist the reader to the realization, so far as this is possible without a knowledge of the language, of what Ottoman poetry is really like, I have in most cases supplemented the account of the poet's life by one or more translated extracts."

Let us look for a moment at these extracts. At first glance they seem to call for more than the somewhat brief explanation that Gibb himself gives to them, for they run into many pages of verse, translated with such skill as to make it very apparent that the author could, had he chosen, have been a master of metrical composition in his own right. He translates many a *ghazel*, which he explains as "the most elegant and highly finished of all the old poetic forms, and it is in it that the Ottoman poets have the best opportunity for displaying their exquisite skill as stylists. The poem should be faultless, the same rhyme-word ought not to be repeated, but the rhymes must be perfect, while all uncouth expressions and all those that are in dubious taste must be avoided."

What the sonnet was to the Italians the *ghazel* was to the Turks—the literary form dedicated to the praise of love."

Among the very many poems translated we have selected the following from the 'Diwan of Ja'fer Chelebi,' not for any particular excellence either in the original or in the translation, but because it shows how minutely Gibb went into all the details connected with the poem and its presentation to an English reader, with its notes on all passages of difficulty, and also because it well illustrates the verbal mastery of the translator:

"Fill the golden goblet, skinker, fill, the wine unmingled pour!
Let the hypocrite bedrench his yellow face with tears of gore (1)
Let the fairy beauties glow impassioned, let them rend their shifts!
At the banquet be there opened into Heaven many a door! (2)
O'er thine eyebrows make those ruffled locks of thine to dangle fair,
For the cross's (3) place is aye the *paynim mihrab* from of yore (4)
Cypress fair, without thee unto me as eddy-whirls of blood
Show the fresh and tender tulips, growing by the river shore (5)
These are many souls demented, worn to hairs for passion's stress
Hair they are not, Ja'fer, yonder ambered locks, I tell thee sure (6)

(1) Let the sanctimonious priest weep that his narrow views cannot prevail, it matters not to us. His yellow face and tears of blood parallel the golden goblet and the red wine.

(2) The bosoms of the fair beauties, exposed to view through their rent shifts, being like Heaven.

(3) The cross, a symbol of the Christian religion.

ornamental crucifixes worn by certain Christians, and as the beauty is generally represented as a *paynim*, the comparison is apt.

- (4) We have often had the *mihrab*, or mosque prayer niche, compared to the eyebrow because of its arched shape. Of course, there is no *mihrab* in a Christian church, its place being taken by the altar, but possibly the poet did not know this, and in any case "altar" would not give the idea of an arch which is required for the simile.
- (5) *I e*, without thee, O graceful beauty, even the fair red tulips growing by the stream, the sight of which ought to give pleasure, suggest to me only eddies formed by tears of blood, and so cause me nothing but sadness.
- (6) *I e*, perfumed with amber—*ie*, ambergris. The idea that the locks of the beloved are not really formed of hairs, but that each seeming hair is, in truth, the soul of a passion-wasted lover.

It has to be admitted that a collection of notes such as this, attached to a ten-line poem, is indeed full measure. And the erudition that they represented! We are well able to understand the reasons for the high praise that all, Turk and English, accorded to Gibb.

In the author's preface to the second volume of his work there is a paragraph which, in its revelation of the writer's method of going to work, is well worth quotation. It might, indeed, serve as a guiding principle to all who undertake the difficult and subtle work of translation. Gibb writes:

The reviewers seem to suppose that my first object in making these translations was to write pleasing English verses. I imagined that I had made it sufficiently clear that my object was not such, but to present a rendering that should give as accurate an idea as possible of the characteristics and peculiarities of the original. This poetry is marked by artificiality, I therefore sought to transfer something of this quality to the translation, and for this purpose I had recourse to the obsolete phraseology in question. I have been unable to devise any better way in which to suggest the greater or less degree of verbal obscurity and artifice that distinguishes one poet from another than the more or less free use of such terms in translation.

Here we have, expressed in a dozen or so lines, the answer to the question so often discussed by scholars of every nation. Wherein consists a good translation? Gibb's translations may not be easy to read, the lines do not always trip neatly off the tongue, the sense is not always immediately apparent, it is sometimes necessary to go to a book of reference in order to find the modern equivalent of an obsolete word or expression. But these are just the characteristics of the originals that he was translating. Who will maintain that he was wrong?

The translations, however, may best speak for themselves. Here is an extract from a *mesnevi* of Mesîhî, called "Shehr Engîz, which title Gibb translates into 'City Thriller'. He explains that this type of poem, later much imitated by followers in the footsteps of Mesîhî, was the first attempt in Turkish poetry to write humorous verse. The poet is describing a series of beautiful boys:

' The champion in beauty's field today
Is fair Ahmed the farrier's son, thou! say
His face the shrine is of his love-love crew,
His shop their pray'r niche e'en through the horseshoe
And one Khalîl, that torment of the spright,
He taketh hearts to be his guest each night
Upon his face what spell has cast his hair,
That thereunto the fire is garden fair?
And one is Nazîk, the mute's son so gay,
Right cunning he in stealing hearts away
How should I not that rosy face love dear?
For rose-bud like, mouth but no tongue is there "

Throughout his work Gibb allows his poets to illustrate themselves by means of long and varied extracts. He also, in many cases, gives summaries of their longer

and more ambitious works. There is a pleasing universality in his taste. He is none of those compilers who merely include what pleases them personally, all and every aspect of a poet's production is covered with a wealth, insight and knowledge that is truly remarkable. And with it all the one fundamental fact stands clear. Gibb loved the people of whom he wrote, he loved their writings, their customs, and their present-day descendants. It needs a man with the feelings of a Gibb to make this translation (our last extract) from the *Ishret Name of Rewania*, an extract which tells of the correct conduct of the company at a wine party.

"When theirs the cup they should not speech prolong
Nor hold the glass in hand before them long,
But soon as offered, they the draught should drain,
Should drink it off that not the dregs remain
Without full bumpers, look, carouse thou ne'er,
Nor be thou bashful with the beauties fair
What boots with but the finger up to greet?
A kiss at every cup's the usage meet
Whene'er thou takest wine in hand at night
See thou do honour to the morning light
The banquet brighter grows for sitting on,
To sleep in company behoveth none
Whene'er the wise in company appear,
Rewani's words as maxims they'll revere

At his death Gibb's very extensive Oriental manuscript library, comprising some 29 Persian manuscripts, 160 manuscripts of the Turkish poets, 19 *mesnevis*, and many other rare and valuable manuscripts, were presented to the British Museum Library, while his printed books were distributed among his friends and others by whom they would, in his view, be appreciated. Not a single one of his books, manuscript or otherwise, found its way to a sale room.

It was a tragedy for the Orientalist that this man died at such an early age. Fortunately, his spirit survives, for his widow, with a rare understanding of her husband's ideals, has established a Trust Fund, the income from which is to go to the prosecution of the studies which Gibb loved so much. The 'E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Fund' exists for the publication of hitherto unpublished Turkish or Persian works, for the prosecution of the study of the languages of the Near East, and for the provision of funds for other cognate purposes. Already there is an imposing list of publications that have been possible through the existence of this fund, and we may hope that there will be many more.

It comes to our knowledge as we write that E. J. W. Gibb is shortly to be presented to the Turkish people in a translation which is being prepared by the Istanbul University. This is, perhaps, the coping-stone to Gibb's work and life. That he should write a *History of Ottoman Poetry* in English for the benefit of people who do not know Turkish, and that his work should subsequently be translated by a Turk for the benefit of those Turks who do not know English, is indeed a rare tribute to the genius of the man who wrote the work.

CHINA'S DUAL PROGRAMME: RESISTANCE AND RECONSTRUCTION

By B. S. TOWNROE

DR WELLINGTON KOO, the Chinese Ambassador in London, in a recent conversation, used the striking phrase that the Chinese Government were committed to the dual programme of determined resistance to Japanese aggression and of planned reconstruction.

Before the Japanese attack upon China in July 1937, a second noted programme

of economic development had been agreed upon, designed to create a rejuvenated and strong China. All the plans for providing new lines of communications, new industries, new mines, and agricultural reforms had to be refashioned after the outbreak of hostilities. Dr Wellington Koo, speaking at the League of Nations in January, 1939, after nearly two years of heroic defence, used these words: "The real antidotes to war are not necessarily to be found in war itself." Financial and economic measures, for example, are peculiarly suitable to the purpose. They may be silent, slow, and invisible, but they are sure in their effect to exert a restraining influence upon the madness of conquest and the feverish preparations for renewed aggression."

The first step in 1937 was to supply the needs of the armed forces of China, in view of the prospect of a long-drawn-out war. The fifth anniversary of the outbreak of the war with Japan took place on July 7. During these five years war time resistance and reconstruction have proceeded on five main lines:

1. Government machinery has been reorganized. Laws and regulations have been revised. A sound accounting and auditing system has been established. In short, administrative efficiency has been tightened up.

2. Private enterprise has been maintained and assisted.

3. Factories producing military supplies have been removed inland from the coast and have been extended, and many new factories built, with financial and technical assistance from the State. Strikes and lock-outs are prohibited.

4. There has been a planned economic order, based on the strengthening of the organizations of trade guilds. Help has been given to small tradesmen. One outcome of the war has been the creation of the Industrial Co-operatives, who have become an expanding and stable force in the life of China.

5. Agriculture, the basis of Chinese life for many millions, has been developed. The National Government has adopted many effective measures for the rehabilitation of agriculture and agricultural industries, including the setting up of rural co-operative banks and granaries, for reclaiming waste land, for exploiting more fully her rich mineral resources, and for creating light and handicraft industries. Dr Wellington Koo considers that this is both the backbone of China's present war resistance, and will be the Phoenix of the China of the future, enabling her to rise again from her tragedies.

In a previous article, published in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* (April, 1942), I gave many facts to prove how China, in spite of war, has been extending her education and health services and her town planning and housing schemes. Some further figures given me by Dr Wellington Koo indicate how all these social services will be a part of her post war industrialization. With a population of 450 millions, with coal reserves estimated at the pre war rate of consumption to last for 10,000 years, with iron-ore reserves estimated to last for 600 years, with an extremely courageous and far-seeing student population, who will provide the leaders of the future, the potentialities are clearly unlimited, provided the Allies are victorious.

A few figures of what China has done in five years against a powerful industrial nation must give much ground for confidence in the future. Many miles of new roads have been built. The total membership of agricultural co-operative societies is now over seven millions. More than seventy new industrial and mining units have been set up in the interior.

But of course all this is only a beginning. Dr Wellington Koo pointed out that when the war is over China will need much foreign capital and will therefore be one of the most important centres for foreign investment. China will also need technicians and managers in order to help her to train her own citizens, and carry out the programme of reconstruction, that has been so bravely and wisely prepared at the very time that Chinese towns were being shattered by Japanese bombs, and so many Chinese lives wantonly sacrificed.

LITERARY INDIA

IV

THE INDIAN BRANCH OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY DR. RANJEE G. SHAHANI

AN English friend, having seen our previous contribution, 'The Literature of Modern India,' has asked in all seriousness "What do you mean by modern? Can Henry Derozio and Ram Mohan Roy be called modern writers? This is a misuse of words. Some of us are even inclined to think that Carlyle and Ruskin are antediluvian. As for Tagore, he became old-fashioned twenty years ago. By modern we mean living and growing spirits like H. G. Wells."

There is some confusion here. To begin with, we did not speak of modern Indian writers, but of the writers of modern India, which, we believe, is not quite the same thing. Modern India, as every schoolboy knows, or should know, came into existence when Westernism began to percolate through the upper and middle strata of Indian society. This produced a change in the thought-structure of the people, for good or ill. Ram Mohan Roy is the first Indian writer who displays the new mentality. He was also, in a very real sense, a modern, because he put truth above traditionalism. Unlike most of our contemporaries, he did not worship this or that idol, but contemplated the cosmos with passionate disinterestedness.

Modernism, then, is not so simple a matter as is commonly supposed. It has nothing to do with time. It is, ultimately, a matter of vision. That is, he who possesses the *capacity to value*, which is another name for creative love, remains a modern. Compare, for example, Virgil with Mr. H. G. Wells. The first has said:

One grows tired of everything except of comprehending. The other informs us, in his *Mankind in the Making*, that he has no use for ancient languages, and that he considers modern languages as "a rather irksome necessity, of little or no educational value." He even thinks that the purpose of the creative process is to produce English men, or, at the worst, English-speaking people. Well, who is more modern, the Latin poet or the English prophet?

* * * * *

We have not finished with digressions. Another friend has said: "So you have raised once again the vexed question of Indian writers and Babuism? Well, you have not proved your contention. Show us by examples that Indians have written admirable English. Then we can judge for ourselves. Mere assertions, one way or the other, will not wash. Forgive me for being a nuisance, but I think many Indians seem to use today too much slang. Spirit of contrariety!"

These questions have to be answered. They are part of our subject.

That quite a number of Indians use slangy expressions when writing English is quite true. We believe the cinema, the radio, and American papers have something to do with this. But Indian writers are not alone in using slang. Kipling was quite fond of it. And we think it is an art to use slang gracefully. No doubt Indian writers will master this difficult art in due course. So far as we know, few English authors have.

But to come to the more persistent accusation. It may be admitted at once that many Indians have written, and some still continue to write, Babu English. But quite an astonishing number have hammered out of an admittedly difficult speech a language apt to render the magic and mystery of the Indian world, where the shadows of thought and feeling are elusive and the lights witching, where there is no gloom or gloom, and where the visions and dreams of a civilisation half as old as time are still a living and abiding reality.

Mere rhetoric? Consider this passage:

Had she (India) not once been the High Priestess of the Orient? Had not her civilization left its ripple-mark on the furthestmost limits of Asia? India still

had a soul to save, which the parching drought of modern vulgarity threatened daily with death, she alone in a pharisaical world, where everyone acclaimed God in speech and denied Him in fact, offered Him the worship of her heart, she alone yet gave birth to the choice spirits who cast aside the highest of earth's gifts in their enraptured pursuit of the life of life. Show us the country but India that could produce the Saint of Dakshineswar (Ramakrishna). The saving wisdom was still in the land which taught man how to know and realize his God—the wisdom which had been gathered and garnered in their forest homes by her priest philosophers, the builders of the Vedas, the thinkers of the Upanishads, the greatest aristocrats of humanity that had ever been. But how should the culture of the soul survive in the land where a shifting materialism was asserting itself under the ægis of foreign rule? Had not the fools and the Philistines, whose name was legion—the monstrous products of a soulless education nourished on the rind of European thought—already begun to laugh at their country's past? And dared to condemn the wisdom of their ancestors? Was India to deform herself from a temple of God into one vast inglorious suburb of English civilization? Even beauty, the vernal goddess enshrined in her hymns and her poetry, was feeling the country chased by a hungry commercialism pouring out its flood of ugly and worthless wares owing naught to art or religion. This doom that impended over the land must be averted. India must save herself by ending alien domination which had not only impoverished her body, but was also strangulating her soul. It was only in an independent India, with the reins of self-determination in her own hands, that the ideal could be re-enthroned in its integrity of high thinking and holy living, which cast on every man the obligation to cultivate throughout life the knowledge of Atman (Self and God), and of striving to realize in conduct the code of humanity that Gautama Buddha had enjoined. It was from the height of this vision of India to be that he (Aurobindo Ghose) called upon his countrymen to prepare themselves to be free, and *not* for the mere secularity of autonomy and wealth, the pseudo-divinities upon whose altars Europe has sacrificed her soul and would some day end by immolating her very physical existence.

Or this

And then? Good bye for ever to the India of Vālmiki and Vyasa, of the Vedas and Vedānta, from whose sacred soil had sprung Lord Krishna and Gautama Buddha. Farewell, Priestess of Asia, mistress of the eastern seas, temple of Nirvana to which pilgrims journeyed from Palestine and Cathay. Come, then, with the vow of death that you may renew life. Remember the soil that your blood will manure shall bear the florescence of a new faith that shall redeem mankind, the fruitage of a new manhood that shall readjust the rights and wrongs of the world.

Or thus

We had corn in our granaries, our tanks supplied us with fish, and the eye was soothed and refreshed by the limpid blue of the sky and the green foliage of the trees. All day long the peasant toiled in the fields, and at eve, returning to his lamplit home, he sang the song of his heart. (But alas, a thousand times alas!) The granaries are empty of their golden wealth, the kine are dry and give no milk, and the fields once so green are dry and parched with thirst. What remains is the dream of former happiness and the languor and misery of insistent pain. (How had this horror descended upon the land?) We had made aliens of our own people, we had forgotten the ideals of our heart. As I look back on the dim darkness of this distant century, the past seems peopled with vague and phantom shapes of terror, and I repeat again that the fault was ours. We had lost our manhood, and losing manhood we had lost all claim save the claim of life. Miserable as we were—our commerce, our manufacture, our industry—we sacrificed it all on the altar of the alien tradesman. The wheel and distaff broke in our household, we cut off our hands and feet, we strangled Fortune in her own cradle.

We are not concerned with the thoughts and sentiments expressed in these three citations they must be taken for what they are worth but we do ask "Are these samples of laughable English?" We have deliberately refrained from quoting recent writers. We have confined ourselves to what might be called the spring tide of Babuism, and all our authors come from the home of Babuism, Bengal. But we see no Babuism in the excerpts given. If any English Master does, we should like to hear from him.

Before we go on to deal with the contemporary period, which is our main concern, we must say a few words about those writers who belong to an earlier epoch and still continue to produce. We cannot neglect their work.

India has a really notable historian in Sir Jadhunath Sarkar. His writings on the Mogul period, particularly about Aurungzib, are characterized by exact scholarship, original research, fine insight into human motives, and narrative skill. His English does not rise beyond a limited mastery, but it is sufficient for his purpose.

In Ananda Coomaraswamy we have a most distinguished art critic. He has written on almost every aspect of Hindu creative effort, and always with persuasiveness and scholarly grasp. His only faults are a breathlessness of style and an over fondness for technical terms that have not been fused in the theme. But this is a personal matter, a matter of taste, and we cannot linger over it. Coomaraswamy is one of the first of Indians to write about the arts and crafts of the country with feeling and understanding. His *Dance of Siva* is an excellent book, though by no means his profoundest. For that we must go to *The Transformation of Nature in Art*, a really fine work. No student of art can afford to neglect it.

For the *elite*, however, O. C. Gangoli is the art critic of India. There is, in fact, no one quite like him, in East or West. Even the French experts, thought to be the guardians of the Temple of Beauty in the West, seem small, limited, crude when compared with him. Gangoli is truly unique. It is high time that his exceptional gifts were recognized and acclaimed. But why do we make so high a claim for Gangoli? First, because he possesses a stereoscopic vision—that is, he knows intimately the art treasures of both the Orient and the Occident. Not only knows, but understands and appreciates them. Then, because he is mercilessly true in his impressions. Passion and prejudice play no part in his verdicts. Beauty is his concern, not politics or racial jealousy. Finally, because he has the gift of phrase, and can convey in a few telling words the essence of a subject. The best work of Gangoli is to be found in the pages of *Rupam*, a magnificent journal, which, alas! ceased publication.

There are other interesting art critics in India, but we cannot linger over them. This is not a catalogue of celebrities or near-celebrities, but, as we have indicated before, a selective outline, or, rather, a panoramic view, of Indian literature.

(To be continued)

THE JAPANESE IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

BY STANLEY RICE

(Author of *The Challenge of Asia*)

EVERYONE is agreed that history is continuous and works by evolution, we are what we are because our fathers were what they were. Now and again there is a revolution which may be compared to the catastrophes of geology, but these cataclysms have only temporarily disturbed, if they have disturbed at all, the general influence of history on national character. This of course does not mean that political revolution may not lead to a permanent change in the system of government. That, indeed, is very likely, and we have ourselves seen it in more than one country in Europe. But

the national character is not changed. The leading features of it will still peep out, even if they are obscured for the time being, when the nation once more settles down to normal life.

Of all this Japan is one of the supreme examples. She was founded, according to Japanese mythology, firmly believed in by the Japanese, by the Sun goddess *Amaterasu-no-Ohokami*, who placed her not very remote descendant on the throne of Japan and under whose protection the Japanese dynasty has lasted ever since. This is to the Japanese a matter of great pride, but it is rather doubtful if it means much more than the continuity of dynasties in other nations. Our own royal line traces its descent back to the Conqueror and to Harold, though here as in Japan there has been descent in collateral lines. It seems to be more or less a question what you mean by a dynasty. But, since the Roman Empire, only in Japan is the Emperor not merely treated as a god but actually to the masses of the people is one. By an easy transition the people themselves, so long as they are pure Japanese, are the 'Sons of the Gods,' and are therefore superior to any other on the face of the earth. This belief has come down through many centuries and persists even now. Politically it carries with it the corollary that Japan is entitled to the mastery of the world. In ancient times this meant little more than the conquest of Korea which, except China, was the only country known to them, and China was too powerful to be attacked. But as time went on—though this was not until many centuries later, when Japan had entered the world and had learned that China was weak—the appetite grew by what it fed upon. But, in the early times, to be Chinese, or as like them in externals as possible, was the ideal of the Japanese man. Not that the Chinese could ever regard himself as the inward equivalent of a 'Son of the Gods.' That title was reserved for the Japanese alone.

This dogma has been the source of many evils. It has bred arrogance. It has bred militarism. It has even bred cruelty. It has bred a hatred of and a contempt for all foreigners. Not that it is the sole cause of these things, but it has contributed its share of them. For the Japanese are intensely arrogant. They always treated the Koreans as inferior people, though they themselves have Korean blood in their veins. Even the Chinese, though they might flatter them, they inwardly despised. I do not mean to say that other nations have not cherished the idea that they are the salt of the earth, the chosen people of God. The Jews thought and said so, the French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries thought so, and, if they did not say so, acted in that belief, the Germans of today not only say so but act accordingly. We ourselves are not unscathed, it is within the memory of not very old men that an Englishman looked down on the foreigner—French, German, Italian, what not—because he had different customs and spoke a different language, which the English politely called gibberish. But not even the Jews exalted the dogma into a religion, not even the Germans, who call themselves the *Herrenvolk*, pretend to be actually descended from the gods. That claim is reserved for the Japanese alone. That, added of course to a natural racial resentment, was why the Japanese became hysterical when America passed her Exclusion Law. That anyone should dare thus to insult the divine people was intolerable. It is true that the other yellow and the white races are placed in a category next after these divine creatures, but it is at a long interval.

This arrogance, which is the result of centuries of inculcation, is born of an intense militarism. In China, the first place in the social structure was given to the learned, next came the artisans and farmers, the soldier was regarded as little better than a pariah. In Japan the soldier was treated as he was, and perhaps is, in Germany, he was a sort of national hero to be petted, to be cajoled, almost to be worshipped. This, too, more definitely than elsewhere, is due to the historical background. The lands of the *Yemishu*, the *Ainu* of the northern island, *Hokkaido*, were gradually taken from them and given out tax free to the landed proprietors. The consequence was that the tenants were attracted from the Crown lands (which of course paid taxes) to the land where there was only rent to pay, to the great impoverishment of the Treasury. The landholders waxed rich and expanded their territories. Owing to the lack of communications they became more or less independent of the Central Government, and, in order to maintain themselves, chiefly against one another, they gradu-

ally acquired a clientèle which became a bodyguard and finally an army. When the Fujiwara were in power in the ninth century the military posts were in the hands of the Taira and the Minamoto, only less powerful than the Fujiwara. With the disappearance of the latter the Taira obtained supreme power for a short while, but were defeated by the Minamoto under the famous brothers Yoritomo and Yoritune. The importance of the sword became emphasized in the struggle for power, and when later the feudal system had established itself the soldiers became a regular caste under the name of Samurai. By degrees it came about that this caste and they alone had the privilege of bearing arms. The Samurai, in fact, were the gentlemen of Japan and were so regarded. This glorification of arms had its natural effect and Japan was clearly marked out for a militarist career. She has never strayed from that path.

A further characteristic of the Japanese was—strangely enough—an absence of desire to make full use of the sea. One would have thought that an island empire would have been specially attracted to the sea, that they would have built themselves a strong navy, capable of holding command not only for their own protection but for the invasion of other countries. Fishermen there were, of course, for fish was, and is, a staple form of diet. There were pirates, too, in plenty, who at one time dominated the Inland Sea and gave much trouble. But the only real attempt at a navy was when Hideyoshi invaded Korea in 1598, and it is remarkable that then the Japanese fleet was so badly defeated by the Koreans that Hideyoshi and his successor, Ieyasu, had to call off the expedition. It is, however, true that shipbuilding had not advanced very far even by the end of the sixteenth century and also that there was no country except China which was open to invasion by Japan other than Korea, it may be also that at that time Japan showed no aggressive spirit, preferring that her Samurai should be employed in killing one another. The modern development of the Japanese Navy owes much to the work of foreigners.

The Japanese man has always shown an indifference to life, his own and others', and even of human suffering, which may fairly be called ferocious. This special characteristic can be disguised under the most obsequious forms of politeness. He is an adept at the art of smiling and smiling and yet being a villain, and this art of ingratiating so assiduously practised, together with the natural beauty of the country and the exquisite productions of its art, has done much to foster the idea of the spoilt child with which the Japanese used to be regarded. Numerous instances of their ferocity could be given, especially in their dealings with Manchuria, but others occur during the course of history which suggest actual sadism. That the punishments of olden times were barbarous is to be expected, they were barbarous everywhere—in France and England as well as in Japan and China. But there must be something savage in a nature that drives a sword into living flesh or spatters the ground with human brains, and all for fun. Nor is this ferocity confined to human beings. Terrible tales are told of crowds gloating over the sufferings of some wretched animal being tortured to death, and the greater the torture the greater the delight. One such sadist, it is said, was defended by a compatriot who had the effrontery to suggest that he learned it in England.

A nation that is prepared to sheathe a sword in its bowels and to die a dreadful death for the sake of Bushido, which counted it an honour to carry the sword for that purpose, has, one supposes, become hardened to the pain of others, especially when those others belong to castes or races which they have been taught to despise. Montanus wrote in the sixteenth century 'They take delight in cruelty and blood shed and the like'. Professor O Conroy, who was an eyewitness and very nearly a victim, describes Japanese cruelty and ferocity after the earthquake of 1923. Not a building was left standing, fire had broken out, everything was burning, food, clothes and shelter were non-existent. A rumour was started in Japan that the Koreans were contemplating an immediate invasion of the islands, though they had no ships, no equipment and no supplies. The rumour spread and the Japanese armed themselves with swords. They started out and killed every man, woman and child in the neighbourhood who could not prove himself Japanese. They were drunk with the lust for blood. Hair, hands and faces were dyed dark with drying human blood. The reason given for this orgy of bloodshed was that the Koreans had already

invaded Japan and were responsible—it does not appear how—for the earthquake! Some excuse may perhaps be found for their conduct in mob psychology. When once a rumour is started and gains credence, however absurd it may be, there is no accounting for what the mob may do. But this excuse will not serve for treatment in Japanese prisons and in the "floating hell ship," the *Etorofu Maru*, where seventeen men died in fifty days from starvation and cruelty. The weaker and more useless of the workmen were simply knocked on the head and thrown overboard. Such barbarities can be multiplied. It would seem that in divine Japan, as in Gestapo-ridden Germany, the doctrine of the divinity of the State has gone to extreme lengths.

It has been said that the Japanese politeness, the glib phrases and the obsequious smile have been adopted for the express purpose of deceiving the foreigner, as part of a subtle propaganda designed to lull him into a false security until such time as the beast is ready to spring. It is hard to believe that this is the case. An assumed attitude is almost certain to betray itself in the long run—not perhaps in the individual, who may chance to be an actor, but amongst the many individuals that go to make up the mass. Can it really be the case that all those people who have visited this country are simply playing a part? It is, I think, more reasonable to ascribe the attitude to the special regard which is paid in China, and therefore, because she has copied it, in Japan, to ceremonial. The book of books is the Book of Rites 'Ceremony,' says Murdoch, the historian of Japan, 'has been a much more potent thing than religion. Now in Far Eastern lands a dozen centuries or so ago'—he is speaking of the reigns of the Emperors Kotoku and Tenchi in the seventh century—ceremonial is of infinitely greater consequence than it is or ever has been in the West—except perhaps in the Byzantine Empire, at the Court of Spain or at Versailles in the time of Louis XIV. Whoever fails to grasp the import of this very simple proposition must abandon all hope of understanding much that is of essential importance in the history of China, Japan and Korea. Chinese ceremonial," he continues, "has done much to regulate and modify the expression of the natural feelings among the Japanese." In the sixteenth century, one Valegnani wrote to the Jesuit-General in Rome. The most austere Order in the Church has no novitiate so severe as is the apprenticeship to good breeding that is necessary in Japan. When, therefore, we are told that the women were sent to Europe with their husbands, were treated perfectly in Europe and America with the deliberate idea of fascinating the people of the West," we must be cautious in accepting such a statement.

My contention is that this politeness is far more the outcome of history than it is due to any deliberate intention to captivate the West. In Japan the man is everything, the woman's existence is bound up in him. Her place is in the home and nowhere else, and it is his home rather than hers. In Europe and in America she has no home, she has probably no children, she is surrounded by a civilization which honours woman, at least in the externals and in matters of small account, and it would be surprising if the Japanese man, the product of long centuries of "apprenticeship to good breeding," did not take on at least a tinge of Western behaviour. It may well be that, finding this behaviour pleasing to the West, the Japanese man cultivated it and even exaggerated it because it paid. It may well be that they even found it to be good propaganda, but that does not alter the fact that, at first at any rate, it was the outcome of centuries of training, adapted, as the Japanese know so well how to adapt, to their environment. But they have no love for the foreigner. In his own country no doubt he must be left to follow his "barbarian" ways, but on the divine soil of Japan he is treated with suspicion, to be flouted and fleeced when ever it is possible. If he goes out of his lodging a policeman or other agent is on his heels to prevent any mischief he may have in mind. If he boards a tram the agent boards it too. If he were to take a photograph of Fujiyama he might well find himself interrogated for spying out military secrets.

The religion of the country is Shinto. It may be thought that the Japanese are Buddhists, and that may be so in appearance. But the Buddhism is a very strange brand. Of all religions in the world, except perhaps Sikhism, Buddhism is by origin a religion of peace, no one has ever called it warlike. It has had a chequered career in Japan. First introduced from Korea in 552 A.D. as a result, it is said, of the present of a statue of Buddha to the Emperor of Japan, accompanied by a memo-

random of its great virtues, it was entrusted, somewhat contemptuously, to the fostering care of the great Soga family. But a pestilence then occurred, and the people, ascribing their misfortunes to the foreign religion, threw the statue into a canal. But the influence of the Soga rescued the creed from extinction, and early in the seventh century it received great encouragement from the Prince Shotoku Taishi, who was not only an ardent Buddhist but also a great scholar and revered in Japan as one of its greatest men.

Thereafter it prospered, and we find the monasteries, temples and priests a curse to the Emperor at Nara, the first permanent capital, and then at Kyoto, to which the Emperor Kwammu had removed the capital in hopes of being rid of the incubus. But, for all this great flowering of Buddhism, Shinto was by no means dead. It began by being a system of ancestor worship mixed up with the gods of Nature, but by degrees the latter element seems to have died out, so that it became ancestor worship pure and simple. It had no priesthood, no ethical code, no imaginings of a future life. But it had its roots deep in the Japanese soul, its plain, unadorned temples had a magnetic charm such as the highly ornate Buddhist ones could not claim. Perhaps it was that Shinto was Japanese of the Japanese, no one else possessed it or anything like it. It lighted that flaming patriotism which we see today, and indeed all through history, and which, rightly considered, is the brightest spot in the Japanese character. We speak of England as "this other Eden, demi-paradise," but to a son of Nippon, the Land of the Rising Sun, his country is more than that, it is not demi-paradise, but Paradise itself, a land of the gods where only gods are fit to live. To such, death means nothing, for even if there is no future life, it is something to know that you will not be forgotten, that somehow, if it be only in a humble home, there will be a niche where your descendants will worship the Spirit of the Ancestors.

With such a creed, which shows itself to be devoid of all ethical ideas, it is not surprising that Japanese notions of morality do not coincide with our own. The joro, or prostitute, is a notorious institution, young girls are bought, enticed or kidnapped for the profession, and the joroya is apparently as good a landmark for the traveller by tram as is here the Green Man or the Blue Lion. The geisha is a better class of the same thing, she is engaged rather for her wit than for her looks, and she is not put to such promiscuous uses as her less fortunate sister. But to kiss on the lips in public, though it be only in a picture, is too immoral even for those men whose traffic is in these young girls. Such immorality must be kept hidden from female eyes. To us this sounds hypocrisy, but to the Japanese it probably only means that while prostitution is for a class—though it be a class artificially created—kissing implies a familiarity which no decent Japanese woman would tolerate. Woman is made for man's pleasure, it is therefore right to give him his playthings, but to withhold the more precious kind, as you might let a child play with its dolls' tea service but not with your best china.

As the world expanded before Japanese eyes, so too did the opportunity for obtaining these playthings, and so too did the lust for conquest. They will tell you that Japan must expand or burst. But she has expanded, first into Formosa, then into Korea, then into Manchuria. Here is territory enough in which to expand, it is like Hitler's *Lebensraum*, which began with a declaration that he only wanted to gather all Germans under the wing of the Reich and has ended with the conquest of half Europe. Such declarations, in the East as in the West, are merely a cloak for insatiable ambition. The Japanese have not been successful colonists. Their high handed arrogance, their lack of any attempt to understand the people they have conquered, have embittered them all. Not that it really matters, for there is no doubt that the Japanese motive is simply that of power and has little or nothing to do with expansion for colonization.

When the Tokugawa came into power on the death of Hideyoshi in 1598 it was not long before they closed the country to all foreigners, except the Dutch, who were allowed to remain on sufferance on a tiny island. For this drastic measure the foreign nations had to thank the excessive zeal of Christian missionaries, especially the Spaniards and Portuguese. Both Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu Tokugawa began by being favourable to Christians, both ended by violently hating Christianity. The reasons which induced Hideyoshi to change his policy are obscure, but they do not

concern us now Iyeyasu was extremely anxious to foster trade with the outside world and therefore reversed Hideyoshi's later policy, but he never liked the creed as a creed and took steps to prevent propaganda in favour of it. He was greatly shocked by the tales of intolerance, and worse, which his envoy to Europe brought back with him, and, indeed, could see for himself how Franciscans and Dominicans on the one hand and Jesuits on the other quarrelled in Japan itself.

It must be remembered that one of the dogmas of Shinto was that a man's own conscience was an all-sufficient guide, the story of the Inquisition and its attendant atrocities must therefore have repelled the Shogun. Moreover, the foreigners—and in particular the Spaniards—were travelling out of their sphere when they attempted to interfere in politics. Tactless references to the power of Spain in conquering other countries were not calculated to improve matters. At last, in 1640, a decree was issued which left no doubt of the Shogun's motives. So long, 'it said, "as the sun warms the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan, and let all know that if King Philip himself or even the very God of the Christians contravene this prohibition they shall pay for it with their heads.' Already in 1638 the Seclusion Decree had been passed, it was mainly directed against the Portuguese. The Spaniards had been expelled in 1624.

So Japan shut herself up for 250 years. There is no doubt that this seclusion retarded her progress, though it does not seem to have done her much material harm. She had cut herself off from all intercourse with the outer world and therefore condemned herself to comparative stagnation. She did not and could not keep pace with the march of the modern world and she lost the influence on national character which that march must inevitably have. It is true that there were Dutch on the little islet of Deshima, but they were virtually prisoners—so closely were they under supervision. Their presence made little difference, the 'Sons of the Gods' were sufficient unto themselves. After some abortive attempts by the Russians and others to force admittance to the country, Commodore Perry entered Uraga harbour in 1853 with a small squadron of United States warships. This woke the Japanese from their Rip-van-Winkle sleep. Japan, never having seen such a powerful fleet before—though it only consisted of four warships and 560 men—was duly impressed with her own impotence. Perry did nothing more on this occasion than present a letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan. But when he came again early in 1854 it was clear to the Japanese that they could not resist the West. Perry speedily obtained a treaty of commerce, and Japan, looking over her broken barricades, decided to throw in her lot with the modern nations.

But though she now arrayed herself in new garments she remained none the less Japanese at heart. The battle was by no means over. There was strong resistance to the Government, especially by the chiefs of Satsuma and Choshu, a resistance which led to the intervention of the British fleet. It was not until 1868 that the Reformers finally triumphed. Twenty six years later Japan had defeated her gigantic opponent and only ten years later had fought a successful war with a European Power. The world wondered at what it thought a miracle. But under it all the Japanese character was still there. The same ferocity, the same indifference to life, the same belief in their own divinity, the same arrogance which had been born and bred in them through many centuries, had been inculcated by the independence of the Daimyos and fostered by the institution of the Samurai, remained unsoftened by any contact with other races, untempered by the knowledge of any civilization other than their own.

For the last thirty years Japan has been preparing for war, for, as General Araki said, "We are a militarist nation." That her rise to power was accomplished through the good offices of other nations, that she owes much of her civilization to China, and very much of her present strength to England, France, Germany and America—all this goes for nothing, but we need not accuse her of ingratitude. She is not the first, nor will she be the last, who has kicked away the ladder by which she has climbed. The help was at first given in a patronizing spirit, no one supposed that an Oriental people trying out her first steps under the guidance of the West could ever become a challenge, much less a menace, to Europe. No Oriental people from the time of Alexander onwards, if we except the phenomenal career of Genghis Khan and

Attila, had ever been able to stand for long against a European onslaught. They little knew that in sowing the wind they would eventually reap the whirlwind. The idea that an Oriental nation was scarcely worth consideration, especially when it concerned armies and navies, was still regrettably prevalent, and even when the Anglo-Japanese Alliance came in 1903 there were those who seemed to think it almost humiliating to Great Britain.

We looked upon Japan as the land of beauty personified, a land of the lotus and the cherry blossom and the chrysanthemum, a land of picturesque women and polite men. But our merchants knew better. They knew that the Japanese were not to be trusted, that they were for ever spying and that they would not hesitate to use all manner of deceit to gain their ends. It is strange that those who have travelled in the Far East have always had a liking for the Chinese and that few who really know them have been favourably impressed by the Japanese. Professor O'Connor writes, after living with them for fifteen years as a Japanese and married to a Japanese wife: 'I found the men of Japan ruthless, cruel, lustful and treacherous. I found them corrupt and bestial.' They are a set of gangsters of the same order of beings as Nazi Germany. They do not follow the Nazis, they have nothing to learn. They follow their own nature, and that is what their past history has made them.

JAPANESE PENETRATION IN ASIA*

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FREDERICK O'CONNOR, C.S.I., C.I.E., C.V.O.

IN what is happening today in the Far East, we are witnessing the culmination of a story which has unfolded itself during the lifetime of myself and of others here present.

The history books tell us that after a period of what may be called imperialistic aggression under Hideyoshi towards the end of the sixteenth century Japan appeared to relinquish any expansionist ambitions, and, indeed, about the middle of the seventeenth century she closed her country entirely to all foreigners and foreign influences, and even prohibited her own nationals from leaving their native shores.

This exclusiveness lasted for almost exactly two centuries, and was first interrupted by the historic visit of the American Commodore Perry in 1853. As a result of this visit, treaties of commerce were made with America, Great Britain and other foreign powers, but it was in the year 1868 that what the Japanese called the Meiji era began under which they discarded their immemorial systems of life and government, sent pupils to Europe to study modern knowledge and science, and so gradually began to transform their country into a great modern power, with a constitutional form of government, a regular army and up-to-date fleet, and a widespread and ever increasing volume of trade and industry.

This, then, may be said to be the date from which present-day Japan set forth on her career from feudalism and bow and arrow soldiers towards the status of the great and formidable armed nation with which we are now in conflict. The intervening period was characterized by three major events—three wars, in fact—first, the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5, secondly, the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, and thirdly, the last great war. These three wars are all modern events, and lie within the recollection of most of us, and I do not propose in the short space at my disposal to dwell upon their details. But it is essential to the understanding of the present situation to take each of them into account and to appreciate the developments and the policies which resulted from them.

But before proceeding to trace the course of Japanese penetration into Asia during the last fifty years or so, I would ask my listeners to bear in mind two phenomena of the very first importance which have characterized this period, and which have,

* Lecture delivered at the China Institute on March 26, 1942. Sir Francis Young-husband presided.

in fact, brought about a complete *volte face* in the policy of this country. The first of these was the Chinese Revolution of 1912, which resulted in the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty and the establishment of a Republic in China. And the second was the Russian Revolution of 1917, resulting in the overthrow of Tsarist rule and the establishment of a Soviet form of government. We have thus had to deal in the course of half a century with two totally different and distinct Chinas, and with two totally different and distinct Russias. The recollection of these fundamental facts will help to explain apparent inconsistencies and mistakes on our part, and will lead to a better understanding as to how the present situation has arisen.

We may now proceed to a brief summary of events. The first two of the wars mentioned above, the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese wars, were curiously similar in their general course. In each case it was the fear of some other Power dominating Korea which constituted the chief *casus belli*.

A glance at the map will show that Korea is pointed like a loaded pistol at the heart of Japan, and how its occupation by a hostile power would constitute a very serious menace to her. Japan has always (certainly since the sixteenth century) been fully conscious of this, and it may, I think be said that it was this aspect of her geographical position more than anything else which first induced her to embark upon her career of continental aggression.

Korea herself, within historical times, has always been a weak, corrupt and inefficient country, incapable of self-defence and an easy prey of any neighbouring power. Nominally a Protectorate of China, Korea was involved in constant internal disturbances, and various grounds of dispute arose between China and Japan. These culminated in the summer of 1894 by the landing of troops by both countries and the seizure of the capital, Seoul by Japan, and war was declared on August 1.

From this moment we can follow the naval and military strategy and tactics of Japan which were reproduced ten years later in the war with Russia, and which have been the dominating factors of the Far Eastern struggle during the last few months. In a word, her successes in all these conflicts have been due to sea power—naval superiority at the right spot at the right moment. It is, of course, true that Japan's present-day navy is a very different affair from what it amounted to in 1894, or even in 1904, but in essentials the problem is the same: naval superiority sufficient to destroy or to cripple the enemy fleet and thus to leave the coasts clear for the landing of military forces wherever desired. The fact that air power has been added to naval power in this war does not alter the essential truth that Japan has, in all three cases under review, cleared the seas of her enemies as a preliminary to invasion.

In the case of China, this did not take long. By September the Japanese (although not markedly superior in actual numbers or tonnage) had gained definite superiority over the Chinese fleet. No obstacle now stood in the way of the landing of further Japanese troops at any port in Korea, and by the end of October they dominated the whole country.

There remained still the fortress and harbour of Port Arthur on the Liaotung Peninsula. Even these formidable works failed to check the victorious Japanese armies. Operations on the peninsula began on November 6, and by the 21st, only fifteen days later, Port Arthur fell.

During the early weeks of 1895 the harbour and forts of Wei-hai-wei, the southern guardian of the entrance to the Gulf of Chihli, and so to the road to Peking, were likewise attacked. The fleet was practically destroyed and Wei-hai-wei was captured.

The roads and seaways leading to Peking were thus opened, and under the imminent menace of an attack on the capital, China capitulated. The great statesman Li Hung-Chang proceeded to Shimonoseki, where on April 17, 1895, the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed. Under the terms of this Treaty, Korea became an independent State, the Liaotung Peninsula, Formosa and the Pescadores Islands were ceded to Japan, China agreed to pay a £25,000,000 indemnity, and Japan was to keep Wei-hai-wei as a pledge till payment had been made.

Before outlining the very similar sequence of events during the Russo-Japanese war, ten years later, it is necessary to glance at the political and other occurrences in the interval.

To begin with, the Treaty between China and Japan had scarcely been signed

when pressure was brought to bear on Japan by three great Powers—Russia, France and Germany—to relinquish her conquest on the Liaotung Peninsula. Yielding to *force majeure*, she reluctantly did so and withdrew her troops, receiving as compensation an additional indemnity of £5,000,000. Three years later, in 1898, Russia, by agreement with China, took her place. In the same year Germany occupied Kiaochau, and Great Britain, with the cordial approval of Japan, leased Wei hai-wei from China. In 1900 the Boxer outbreak took place, in the suppression of which Japan took a prominent part, but acquired no permanent gains or any increase of territory. And in January, 1902, was concluded the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

The conclusion of this very important document undoubtedly fortified Japan in her resolution to oppose further aggressions on the part of Tsarist Russia, and two years later to make war with her. The course of this struggle followed almost exactly the precedents of the Sino-Japanese war—the destruction or immobilization of the enemy fleet, followed or accompanied by landings in Korea and then on the Liaotung Peninsula. Japan was victorious both by land and sea. She destroyed a number of Russian ships and kept the remainder virtually powerless at Port Arthur and at Vladivostock, and in a series of great battles—on the Yalu and later in Southern Manchuria—she defeated and drove back the Russian armies. For the second time she was forced to besiege and attack Port Arthur, and although this proved to be a far more serious operation than when the fortress was defended by the Chinese, she nevertheless captured it by assault before the end of 1904. Under the terms of the resulting Treaty of Portsmouth, Japan obtained a Protectorate over Korea, the southern half of the island of Sakhalin and the succession to Russia's railway and other concessions in Southern Manchuria, which included the lease of the southern part of the Liaotung Peninsula. The Protectorate over Korea became complete annexation in 1910.

We now come to the third act in the drama under review—namely the first world war. Here Japan took her place alongside her ally, England, and the other allied nations. Her chief land operation was the attack on and the capture of the German occupied portion of Shantung, and at sea she guarded the Pacific against raiders, and she even sent warships to the Mediterranean. In fact, Japan fulfilled a useful rôle during the war and proved that she could be of substantial value as an ally.

Hitherto it has been possible to describe Japan's conduct from the time when she first elected to emerge from her centuries of seclusion in favourable terms. She had beyond question modernized herself in the best schools of the European world in the arts both of peace and of war, and her two wars with China and Russia can neither of them fairly be regarded as wars purely of aggression. It should be remembered, too, that at that time Tsarist Russia constituted the great threat both to China and to British possessions in the East, and Japan's victories over Russia in 1904-5 were regarded with satisfaction in this country. It was felt, I think, that after the successful termination of her campaign against China (*i.e.* the old imperialist China), Japan had been unfairly jockeyed out of her occupation of the Liaotung Peninsula by the three Powers, Germany, France, and Russia.

It happened that the period of some of Japan's earlier successes coincided with the Younghusband Mission to Tibet. Russia had for years been the bogeyman in regard to the north west frontier of India, and one of the chief reasons for the despatch of the Tibet Mission was the fact that the Dalai Lama was known to be in friendly communication with the Tsar, and naturally we did not want to see Russian influence extended to Tibet. During our advance to Lhasa and our stay there we followed the news bulletins regarding the course of the Russo-Japanese war with keen interest and much natural sympathy for our ally.

But these sentiments did not last very long. As time went on it became more and more obvious that Japan was making use of the alliance purely for her own ends. Even that might have been excusable had she displayed any regard whatever for our interests. But this was far from being the case. As her grip on Manchuria tightened, so did British trade and commerce suffer. Every kind of obstacle was placed in the way of our merchants, and in the result they were practically driven out. And the same thing happened in Korea.

Similarly, during the Great War Japan, although it is true she was of use to us as

an ally, worked chiefly for herself. Her expulsion of the Germans from Shantung resulted simply in her occupation of the territory—an occupation which lasted for several years after the end of the war. But her real ambitions were unmasked most fully when the carefully guarded secret of the famous "Twenty-one Demands" on China, in 1915, leaked out. These demands insisted on a number of exclusive privileges for Japan, not only in Manchuria, but also in Northern China and even in the Yangtze Valley. They were utterly inconsistent with Japan's duty towards her allies, and were clearly aimed at the political and commercial domination of vast areas belonging to China. These demands were contested at the time and later by Great Britain and the U.S.A., but in the end China was forced to accept most of them.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance came to an end in 1922, when it was replaced by a series of treaties concluded at the Washington Conference. This Conference was convened with the object of securing a reasonable *modus vivendi* in the Far East, and a number of treaties were signed by the assembled Powers, including Japan. Among these was the 'Nine Power' Treaty, which was framed chiefly with the desire to secure the integrity of China and equal opportunities for all the Signatory Powers in her trade and internal development. Noteworthy, too, was the "Washington" Treaty dealing with the limitation of naval armaments. This treaty also prescribed the maintenance of the *status quo* in British, Japanese and United States islands in the Pacific. Exceptions to this provision, however, were made to allow for defensive fortifications and armaments in the case of Hawaii, Australia, New Zealand and, most important of all, the Japanese islands near Japan. Its significance only became manifest to the other Signatory Powers when Japan, in 1931, started on her career of aggression against China, and the members of the League of Nations and the United States found themselves unable to bring any effective pressure to bear in support of their condemnation of her proceedings. Japan was, in fact, in a position to ignore her treaty obligations and to flout the public opinion of the rest of the world. The treaty lapsed in 1936, after it had been denounced by Japan.

In 1931, on a feeble pretext, Japan threw over all pretence regarding Manchuria and declared this country to be an Independent State, Manchukuo, with the puppet ex Emperor, Pu Yi, as its "Regent", and Japanese troops also occupied provinces of Inner Mongolia. China appealed to the League of Nations, and, in a rather belated effort to stay Japan's hands the Lytton Commission was sent out to investigate the facts on the spot. It produced an admirable Report on the situation, but no effective action resulted.

In 1932 Manchukuo became an Empire with Pu Yi as its first Emperor.

Omitting minor incidents which occurred in the interval we now come to the outbreak of the war with China in 1937, which continued as an "undeclared" war until China made a formal declaration of war in 1941. A great part of China has been overrun by Japanese troops, great battles have been and are still being fought, and an incalculable volume of misery and loss of life and property has resulted. This drama is still in process, and we cannot foretell its final result.

During the year 1941 came the move into French Indo-China, and by August Japanese troops were on the Siamese frontier, and during subsequent months further troops were poured into southern Indo-China and ships were moved into position for the attack on Malaya.

The events since December 7 are too well known to need recapitulation.

I have tried to give a brief outline of the principal events which have led up to the present situation. It is necessarily imperfect and many important matters have had to be omitted—such, for instance, as the fighting at and around Shanghai, the incidents at Tientsin, the magnificent courage and fighting spirit displayed by our Chinese friends and allies, under the leadership of General Chiang Kai Shek, during the long years of war and the devastation of so large a part of their country, and so on. But even this summary will have shown, I think, the almost miraculous development of Japan from the time of her awakening to the modern world in 1868 to the present day—the progress of centuries compressed into seventy four years.

Up to a certain point it may fairly be said that her first penetration into the Continent of Asia was due to geographical reasons and political necessities rather than to any actual desire for, or deliberate programme of, aggression. As pointed out before,

constituted a deadly threat to Japan, and it was to a great extent in order to ward off this danger that she undertook her campaign against China in 1894-5. The result of this war gave her a foothold on the mainland and a certain security, but scarcely had she achieved this when she was deprived of the fruits of her victory by the action of the three Great Powers.

In her reaction to this humiliation she had the sympathy of this country, and we manifested this sympathy and goodwill by the Alliance of 1902. But for the moral and potential military support of this alliance, it is doubtful whether Japan would ever have undertaken her war against Russia, and it was the successful conclusion of this war which gave her a foothold in Asia—her supremacy over Korea, her occupation of the Liaotung Peninsula, and her concessions in Southern Manchuria, which she eventually developed into a practical domination and whence she spread into Inner Mongolia and the Northern Provinces of China. As mentioned above, we justly regarded the setback to Tsarist Russia with satisfaction at the time and it was only gradually, during the ensuing years, that the world came to realize the true nature of Japan's ambitions and the falsity of all her professions of amity both to ourselves and to China. By the time the Alliance came to an end, in 1922, the mischief had been done and we are now witnessing the result.

The question remains as to how, apart from her military and naval preparations, Japan has been able to achieve such amazing triumphs in her penetration of Asia in such a comparatively short space of time. One, at any rate, of her principal methods has been systematic espionage and the establishment of fifth-columnists wholesale throughout the Far East. This fact is notorious, and is a commonplace to anyone who has resided for any length of time in China, Malaya, etc., and even to passing travellers. One of the standing jokes at Singapore was that every Japanese barber in the place was an officer of the General Staff—and many a true word is spoken in jest. And as showing how her agents penetrated as far as Central Asia, Mongolia and Tibet even as long as forty to fifty years ago, perhaps I may relate as a pendant to what has been said above two or three of my own experiences.

The first of these occurred when as a young officer of artillery I was stationed in the Gilgit district of Kashmir in the year 1902. I was returning from a short trip to the Pamirs after *Ovis poli*, and on the road back I fell in with a small party of three Japanese, who had also emerged from Central Asia and were on their way to India. We made friends and travelled together for some days. The leader of the party was a certain Count Kojuri Otani, a most agreeable and well-informed man, speaking perfect English, and on parting he gave me a cordial invitation to visit him at Kyoto if ever I found myself in Japan. Some years later I was at Kyoto and enquired for my friend, Count Otani, and was directed to the Great Temple of the Nishi Hongwanji sect of Japanese Buddhism. Here I learnt that Kojuri Otani was the hereditary High Priest of this sect. He received me in the most friendly manner and entertained me during my stay. I soon found that he made it his business to be up to date in all matters connected with Central Asia. He was supplied with all the latest books, pamphlets and scientific journals dealing with that part of Asia, and was even acquainted with the whereabouts and movements of prominent people—such, for example, as Sir Francis Younghusband—known to be experts on those parts. He was, in fact, a walking dictionary and Who's Who regarding Central Asia, and had personal as well as literary knowledge of those regions, and of the principal persons concerned therein, and his semi-sacred hereditary office gave him special opportunities for carrying out his researches.

Then, during our mission to Lhasa in 1903-4, we knew that a certain Japanese Buddhist Priest, Ekai Kawaguchi by name, had resided in one of the three great Lhasa Monasteries for several years, just before the Mission entered the country, under the guise of a Chinaman. But his real identity had leaked out, and he had left the country to escape arrest by the Tibetans. But after his departure the Lhasa Government had seized and imprisoned certain of his servants and others regarded as responsible for his sojourn at Lhasa. Being then on such excellent terms with our Japanese allies, I was able, with Colonel Younghusband's approval, to secure the release of these persons after the signature of the Treaty with Tibet. Colonel Younghusband, in his book *India and Tibet*, gives a graphic account of the incident when these men

"All were in abject fear of the Tibetans, bowing double before them. Their cheeks were sunken, their eyes glazed and staring, their expressions unchangeably fixed in horror, and their skin as white and dry as paper." As it happened I met Kawaguchi a year or two later in Calcutta. But he was far from being friendly or grateful for what we had done on behalf of these unfortunate people. He, too, was a valuable agent for his own country—an expert on his particular *terrain* and, as it happened, extremely anti British.

A third instance occurred when I was the British Trade Agent at Gyantse after the Mission. One day my servant told me that a Mongolian traveller had presented himself at my house and asked to see me. He was shown in, and as soon as we were alone he addressed me in fluent English, telling me that he was in reality a Japanese who, in the disguise of a Mongol, had been travelling about in Tibet. The Tibetans in his case also had suspected him, and he expected at any moment to be arrested. Could I help him? I kept him at the Agency for a few days and arranged for his safe conduct to India. As a sequel to this incident, I received one day a letter and package from Japan. The letter thanked me for what I had done for him, and he added that he was sending to me as a souvenir a possession to which a Japanese attaches particular value—namely, his sword. The package contained the sword, a beautiful blade in a wooden sheath which I still possess.

These are only trivial incidents, but they may serve to illustrate the thoroughness, even in those days, of Japanese methods, and the skill, daring and persistence with which her agents carried out their duties, even in regions to which Japan's ambitions could hardly have extended.

As we know now, the programme involves nothing less than the complete expulsion of the white man from what she calls her "co-prosperity sphere."

CORRESPONDENCE

DEAR SIR,

In the review of *Kapok*, by Stephen J Zand, which was published in the last issue of *THE ASIATIC REVIEW*, it was stated that—

'The supply of kapok is inadequate to meet the world's demand, and the manufacturers who use it are unable to develop their business in consequence of the scarcity of raw material.'

May we point out that, although at the present moment the exports of Netherlands East Indies kapok is nil owing to enemy occupation, it is interesting to note that normally the Netherlands East Indies can supply all the kapok that is likely to be required by overseas countries.

The Kapok Centrale was established in Batavia for improving quality and in creasing overseas sales. Incidentally, the British Chamber of Commerce for the Netherlands East Indies (Inc.) and the Netherlands and Netherlands Indies Information Bureau jointly acted as representatives in Great Britain for the Kapok Centrale, in order to bring to the notice of actual and potential consumers of Kapok the uses to which kapok can be put, and to assist in the development of new uses, especially in view of the progress which has been made in the last six or seven years in the "harnessing" of kapok, so that it could be adapted for many purposes, such as coat linings, refrigerators, insulation, and many other things.

If the supply of Netherlands East Indies kapok had been inadequate it obviously would not have been necessary to establish the Kapok Centrale, at least as far as concerns increasing exports.

May we draw your attention to the fact that Stephen J Zand's book on kapok may be obtained from the Netherlands and Netherlands Indies Information Bureau, Cecil Chambers, Strand, London, W C 2.

THE NETHERLANDS AND NETHERLANDS
INDIES INFORMATION BUREAU

MAY 7 1942.

(W VONK, Secretary)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

FOOTPRINTS IN MALAYA By Sir Frank Swettenham, GCMG, CH

(Reviewed by SIR RICHARD WINSTEDT, KBE, CMC, DLITT [OXON])

Forty years ago, when I went to Malaya as a young cadet, Europeans there would argue about the respective merits of our two local writers—Sir Frank Swettenham, the author of *Malay Sketches*, and Hugh Clifford, author of *Studies in Brown Humanity*. I think that all of us who got to know 'The Real Malay' were disposed to consider that the bland cynicism of Sir Frank's books represented him better than the vehemence with which Clifford's temperament was apt to galvanize the people *In Court and Kampong*. The present work is marked neither by the cynicism of the author's youth nor by the preciosity of his attractive *Unaddressed Letters*. Referring (p. 91) to the success of colonial statesmen at speech making, he notes that what riveted the attention of diners, stopped the waiters in their stride and held them where they stood, was the speaker's sincerity. "It is its patent sincerity which makes this book Sir Frank Swettenham's best for here is the real man speaking still at ninety with that poise and gusto which have been the secret of his, as of most, successful careers. 'Want of enthusiasm,'" the historian J. R. Green wrote to Mrs. Humphry Ward, is the reason why all the cool-headed young Oxford men fail to do any good in the world." Like many other men of ability, Sir Frank started his career direct from school. It seems incredible that had he gone to Oxford he would have graduated before Oscar Wilde went up to Magdalen, that he was an official in Singapore when King George V. visited it as a boy, and that on his first leave he met Matthew Arnold.

In the preface Sir Frank quotes from Somerset Maugham. The artist is absorbed by his technique only when his theme is of no passing interest to him. When he is obsessed by his topic he has not much time over to think of the artfulness of his presentation. The main topic of *Footprints in Malaya* is the Malay States from the time when they came under British protection down to the days when Japan began attacking their frontiers. Of the counsels and actions that made their history Sir Frank Swettenham can justly claim *pars magna fuit*. One wonders what has happened to his statue outside the offices at Kuala Lumpur, on whose pedestal the Tamils would lay flowers? It is only when he is writing of Benares or Delhi or San Francisco, places forming no integral part of his own vivid life, that we miss the gusto which replaces technique. Even Malay history outside his own period hardly interests him, or he would not repeat (p. 52) the exploded theory that the Malays were people of South India who migrated to Sumatra and thence to Singapore. That was possibly true of the ruling house of old Malacca, but the Malay race descended from Yunnan, and the ancestors of the large Malay populations of Kedah and Kelantan can never have left the continent of Asia. The writer seems unaware (p. 51) that the Malay *ars amoris* is entirely derived from India or that the gilding of cotton fabrics (p. 118) is practised in India, Java and Bali. Generally, however, he has avoided the historical pitfalls that deface the earlier part of his *British Malaya*. And as to petty historical details, do they always matter except to savants, who, as Anatole France observed, are tiresome enough to publish out of principle everything radically lacking in interest? Sir Frank's humanity has preferred the flesh and blood of anecdote and affairs to the dry bones of the past. His best story (pp. 23-24) concerns a Chinese called Tat. His tale of a Governor under whom he served (p. 65) might sound incredible—to those who do not know the colonies. A good tale of an ex-Governor of seventeen colonies at Windsor Castle (p. 92) illustrates the way the Empire teaches its servants a sense of proportion. Two tales of the Perak war (pp. 64, 65), like "Needs Explaining" in Sir George Scott's *Cursed Luck*, reminds one that the only Europeans whose wars against the people of Malaya have not been comic opera were the Portuguese.

As Sir Frank's name must lend authority to anything he writes on Malaya, a few of his statements require comment. One can subscribe whole-heartedly to the view that Great Britain's entry into the Malay States is the worst possible stick with which to beat imperialism without adducing as evidence of our good faith Raja Abdullah's request for a British officer to teach him how to rule. Abdullah went down to Singa-

pore a discredited man, ready to accept any system that would restore his fortunes, and he was induced to write for a British officer by a British unofficial, Mr W H Reed Abdullah was a convenient means to a justified end Again, official records hardly make the Pangkor treaty (p 33), under which Perak agreed to British protection, a simple affair The Governor persuaded only the Bendahara, the Temenggong and the Mantri to join the Lower Perak chiefs, to sign the treaty He had got a quorum but nothing like all the Perak chiefs All the chiefs present objected to ceding more than the island of Pangkor as a post for quashing piracy, but to please a Chinese creditor Abdullah consented to cede a strip of the mainland too And as soon as the new Sultan, Abdullah, had gone, the very chiefs who signed the treaty held meetings of protest The Governor was quite unaware that not only Abdullah but the British Government had recognized the Mantri as the independent ruler of Larut, and naturally therefore regarded him as an obstructionist—so under the Pangkor treaty the Mantri lost Larut to Abdullah, who had fleeced and cheated him, and it was no wonder he went off and paid a lawyer a retaining fee of \$12,000 to put his case before Parliament—a course out of which Abdullah, fearful of his throne, wheedled him And, of course, there was already a Raja Ismail, as duly elected Sultan of Perak as Abdullah, who was deposed from the throne in his absence and for no fault, and given a pension of \$1,000 a month The Governor meant well and took the easiest course in an impossible situation Even his chief adviser on Malay affairs, Mr T Braddell, did not realize that the villain of the piece (as afterwards of the murder of the first Resident) was the weak, unscrupulous Abdullah

On pages 97-98 Sir Frank draws a parallel between a Perak succession case and a recent one in Selangor It must not be overlooked that the then Sultan of Perak had complete ascendancy over his chiefs and was ousting a most unsatisfactory son in law who had disgracefully affronted him, so that the British and Malay views naturally coincided But Sir Frank is right that the British handled the matter properly in concert with the ruler As for the Selangor succession, though the whole story is long, few will challenge Sir Frank's view that the insistence on the choice of the third son was a mistake in principle Even in practice seldom or never is the Malay choice of a chief overridden without disappointing results—especially if literacy is made the touchstone by the British.

Only five pages are devoted to the thorny subjects of Federation and Decentralization Those who want full and documented accounts of this recent period of Malaya's history will turn to Rupert Emerson's *Malaysia* (in spite of its anti-imperialist bias) and to Mr L A Mills' *British Rule in Eastern Asia* Since Malaya's fall I have heard a Malay declare that it would be a pity to continue decentralizing, as such a course would retard the growth of a united Malay nationalism

It was as long ago as 1903 that Sir Frank decided to retire while 'still in possession of his faculties,' so that, were it not for this tale of flood and field to disprove it, one might be liable to regard him as an unduly nervous man

Some of the illustrations are poor, and the maps inside the covers illegible

On pages 44 and 45 *Berman* is a misprint for *Bernam* and on page 89 *Sui* for *Sri* while on page 98 a misplaced accent spoils the point of a story about Swinburne *Zia'u'd dīn* (Light of the Faith) should be read *passim* for *dīn* U d-dīn

The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors THE ASIATIC REVIEW does not hold itself responsible for them

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